California Journal

A MONTHLY DIGEST OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

FEATURE: THE STATE OF WELFARE

The Nixon Plan and California's Response

POLITICAL ROUNDUP

Rafferty, Riles and Nava

A.G. Candidate Forum

Primary Contests Peak

LEGISLATURE

John Miller Interviewed

April 1970 in Review

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Editor's Note

In the midst of America's vast wealth and technological sophistication, man's oldest social problem — providing the basic needs for those who cannot provide for themselves — continues to confound and frustrate the expert and the citizen. Beginning on the next page, *California Journal* provides an extended analysis of the problems and proposed solutions at the federal, state and local level. Written jointly by Associate Editors Judson Clark and Jerome Evans and based on detailed review of the public record and of behind-the-scenes developments, this feature is part of an on-going effort by the *Journal* to provide comprehensive, factual analysis of key issues.

* * *

Assemblyman John Miller's election as Assembly Minority (Democratic) Floor Leader provides interesting insights into the workings of the political parties in the Legislature, a perspective usually limited in the public eye to votes on the floor.

John Miller, 38, was elected to the Assembly in 1966 from the strongly Democratic, liberal-oriented 17th District (Berkeley). He is one of six Negro state legislators and holds the highest office held by any black in California history. Elected at the same time as Ronald Reagan, Miller is in his second term. He is highly respected for his intellect and for his incisive committee and floor debate.

The previous Minority Floor Leader was Jess Unruh, who was elected to the post last year after the Republicans ended his eight-year reign as speaker when they captured control of the Assembly. Unruh stepped down as Floor Leader on March 31 to pursue his gubernatorial campaign. Behind-the-scenes maneuvering to choose his successor began as soon as it was evident that he would resign. The intensity of the struggle was heightened by the fact that the Democrats are only two seats from regaining control of the Assembly in November and the speakership in January.

The chief contenders for the position were Robert Crown, vice-chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, and an early ally of Jess Unruh who helped engineer Unruh's original election to the speakership; Joe A. Gonsalves, former Rules Committee chairman under Unruh and the least liberal of the three leading candidates (his chief supporter was Carlos Bee, former Speaker pro Tempore under Unruh); and liberal Willie Brown, brash, black Democratic Whip. Exerting considerable influence, was Bob Moretti, a leading candidate for speaker next year.

With this line-up of candidates and supporters, it was a surprise to all and a shock to some when second-termer John Miller was elected. How this came about is the question which leads off the interview on pages 100-101.

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FEATURE

Welfare: Programs and Problems

Welfare — under attack by taxpayer groups, politicians, economists, administrators, and the recipients themselves — may soon be subjected to a broad restructuring of its programs and activities. Popular frustration and disillusionment with welfare has created a ground swell of support in Congress and in the states for any program which holds out promise of fundamental change. That support is now being utilized to back President Nixon's plan to thoroughly overhaul the existing system which, he says, "has failed us".

What is this system? Terribly complex and cumbersome in its administrative detail, it is essentially simple in concept. It represents the public's effort, through government, to insure that those in our society who are unable to earn sufficient income to meet basic needs, through no fault of their own, are provided with the assistance necessary to support themselves and their dependents. In addition, and more recently, these income maintenance programs have been supplemented by an extensive system of "social service" designed to control the manner in which the poor spend the public funds alloted to them and to encourage them to become self-sufficient.

Four Major Programs

Although welfare programs are commonly lumped together without distinction as to their purposes or beneficiaries, any critical analysis must take into account the fact that each separate aspect of welfare has its own special characteristics and problems. There are four major programs of public assistance in which the State of California participates: Old Age Security (OAS), Aid to the Blind (AB), Aid to the Disabled (ATD), and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Of these, it is the AFDC program which is the largest and fastest growing. AFDC has three parts: aid to dependent children who are in need and lack normal parental support because of the death, incapacity or absence of their parents; aid to needy children whose parent or parents are unemployed (AFDC-U); and support for children receiving 24-hour foster care. Between 1969-70 and 1970-71, the monthly average of individuals assisted under AFDC is expected to increase by 19 percent and total cost by 28 percent.

Two other major programs of public assistance in California are county general assistance and Medi-Cal. General assistance provides supplemental support for some 61,000 recipients in the form of cash grants and aids in kind. In recent years, the counties have been under heavy pressure to provide general assistance to supplement other programs, and especially AFDC, because of the inadequacy of payments under those programs. Most recipients of public assistance are automatically eligible for Medi-Cal, which in 1970-71 is expected to cover approximately 2 million persons in this category.

Despite the fact that these welfare programs over the years have protected millions of children and adults from extreme deprivation, it is difficult to find many persons who are satisfied with them in their present form. Many of the recipients feel victimized by politicians and administrators who refuse to provide adequate levels of assistance to all who are eligible. Politicians, reflecting what they take to be the mood of the public, have become increasingly critical of high costs and caseloads which weigh down state and county budgets. Program administrators find it nearly impossible to administer welfare services effectively under a growing burden of regulations, eligibility criteria, cost formulas, and methods of payment.

Major Weaknesses

Although there is little agreement among these different groups as to which are the most serious weaknesses of the existing system, any listing of the major problems would include these points:

- The continuing rapid increase in the number of recipients and the cost of AFDC support with its consequent impact on county and state taxes.
- The growth of one program on top of another, each with a different set of regulation, procedures and cost allocation, to supplement inadequate services and levels of assistance of earlier programs.
- The failure of these programs to effect any reduction in the number of persons who receive assistance and who are potentially employable.
- Conflict between the concepts and activities which are related to income maintenance and those related to the various social services.
- The difficulty of determining real need and evaluating the manner in which that need is being met, both for those who deserve assistance and in cases where there is fraud, intended or unintended, on the part of recipients.

The "Poverty Level" of Annual Income for Federal Programs

Family Members	*Non-Farm Income*	*Farm Income*
1	$1,800	$1,500
2	2,400	2,000
3	3,000	2,500
4	3,600	3,000
5	4,200	3,500
6	4,800	4,000
7	5,400	4,500
8	6,000	5,000

Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor, December, 1969.

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Nixon Welfare Reform Plan is Outlined

Shortly following his inauguration last year, President Nixon announced that his administration would soon propose major changes in existing welfare programs. The proposal which he eventually submitted to Congress in October of 1969, and which drew heavily upon the preceding studies, largely fulfilled that promise. A highly receptive House of Representatives, eager to assist in drafting a major welfare reform, passed the bill with bi-partisan support on April 16. As a consequence, the Nixon Plan now commands the focus of attention across the country.

The Nixon Plan has three principal elements: a Family Assistance Plan for basic income maintenance, a consolidation and streamlining of "adult assistance" programs, and some expansion of employment training and incentives. It is the Family Assistance Plan which embodies the principal change in existing welfare programs. Although the specific proposal contains many elements of compromise between existing welfare assistance on the one hand and the various guaranteed annual income plans which have been proposed in recent years on the other, it nevertheless establishes the basic concept of direct income maintenance.

Family Assistance Plan

The Family Assistance Plan is to replace the present AFDC program and will cover all eligible families, including the lowest income "working poor." The federal government will guarantee an annual income of $1,000 for the first two family members and $300 for each additional member — $1,600 for a family of four — for families whose income (after certain exclusions) is below this level. Each state is required to provide supplementary aid for eligible persons who are not in the working poor category up to the level of their AFDC payments in January 1970, or the so-called "poverty level" established by the federal government, if that is lower. To be eligible, a family must have resources of less than $1,500, excluding the home, household goods and personal effects, and the adult members must register with the employment service and participate as required in employment training programs.

The present categorical aid programs for the blind, aged and disabled are also repealed, to be replaced by a single program covering the same persons. A basic minimum payment of $110 per month is to be provided according to uniform federal definitions as to eligibility, excluded resources, and allowable earned income. Some states, including California, will not be required to adopt a single minimum need standard, but they must use a need standard for each aid category which is at least as high as that in effect when the bill is enacted. Federal contributions to the cost of this aid are to be simplified and increased relative to state costs.

The Nixon plan will also repeal the year-old Work Incentive Program (WIN) and establish a new program in its place. The new work training and employment program will embody most of the elements of WIN plus those of several other similar programs. An "employability plan" is to be drawn up for each individual who registers for employment under the program.

The plan makes few changes in social services, except that it deletes the current requirement that each relative and dependent child under AFDC must receive a program of services designed to move him into the labor force. The concept of mandated social services is retained, however, in connection with employment training programs.

Criticism of the Plan

Much of the specific criticism of the Nixon plan has centered upon the level of the income guarantee, the work incentive scheme, the cost impact for relatively high benefit states, and the work requirement for mothers of school age children. Amendments to the original plan by the House Ways and Means Committee increased federal matching for state supplementary payments under the family assistance plan and thereby substantially improved the position of high benefit states like California. Initial efforts to increase the level of the income guarantee have been turned back, however, in the face of unyielding opposition by the Administration.

Ironically, the severest criticism of the Nixon plan may come from those who are in strongest sympathy with his call to end the poverty cycle — those who accept the belief that somehow the need for public assistance can be made to go away, that everyone should obtain employment that will satisfy his basic income needs, but who believe that a plan such as that which the Nixon administration proposes is a step in the wrong direction, a step toward perpetuating and "institutionalizing" poverty. This feeling is nowhere stronger than in Sacramento.

Court Decisions Affect Welfare

A decision by the United States Supreme Court this month drew attention to the growing number of welfare cases which involve the rights of recipients and affect the costs of the programs. Typical of the trend in litigation, the decision prohibits California from paying lower AFDC benefits to children based solely on the presumption that a man other than their father who lives in the house also supports them.

The Court's ruling, which administration officials estimate makes a $10 million difference in the state's welfare costs, is referred to as the "man in the house" decision and requires the state to prove that the man actually supports the children financially before it can consider his income in determining benefits the children will receive. Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and Justice Hugo Black dissented, contending that the issue should have been fought out between the Health, Education and Welfare Department and state officials before being appealed in the courts. The decision overturned a state law providing that payments to needy children shall automatically take into account the income of a step-father or a man living with the mother though not legally married to her.

Social Welfare Director Robert Martin indicated that the increased number of cases result from the fact that recipients have gained access to lawyers through federally-funded economic opportunity programs for legal assistance. Ninety percent of the existing cases have been initiated by recipients represented by counsel under these programs. The complicated welfare system of shared federal, state, and local administration makes it unlikely that recipients without such guidance can evaluate their rights under the complex laws and regulations. It also puts the government into an especially vulnerable position for individual law suits which turn into class actions. State administrators are increasingly concerned about the unanticipated consequences of court decisions which may add substantially to the cost of welfare programs. California currently has pending suits which are estimated to add $500 million to government spending.

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California Reaction to Nixon Plan

Governor Ronald Reagan has issued a carefully-worded statement on the Nixon welfare reform plan which praises its objectives while avoiding comment on its probable effect on California: "Without going into detail, it is important to note that Mr. Nixon's plan recognizes that the present system is failing because it perpetuates poverty instead of motivating people to be self-sufficient."

Privately, the Governor has made the Nixon plan a priority issue at recent cabinet sessions. He and his top welfare administrators are concerned about the costs of the federal program and fear it may deny the state its proper role in guiding welfare programs. Robert Martin, the new Director of Social Welfare, appointed to fill the vacancy left when John C. Montgomery departed to join the Nixon administration, says that the costs aren't the prime concern. "My concern," says Martin, "is that we are going to completely federalize and institutionalize poverty."

Martin bases his fear on two factors: first, he believes the employment incentives in the Nixon plan are "not strong enough to reverse the trend apparent in welfare over the last five years"; and second, he believes the provision in the plan which permits the states to shift administrative costs to the federal government through federal management is like a "Damoclean sword with a dollar sign over our head."

Administrative Questions

California has had requirements in its programs for registration with state employment agencies and as part of the Work Incentive (WIN) program, but these employment incentives, according to Martin, have not fulfilled expectations. The whole question of employability and the relation of the working poor to other services raise administrative questions which the welfare director believes will become the subject of a new round of welfare litigation.

Despite efforts to play down the cost implications of the Nixon plan, the administration suspects that expenditures for the program will be substantially higher than recent estimates. Faced with rising costs, the states are likely to choose the direct savings available through federal administration. But if the state does opt for federal administration, the eventual role for the Department of Social Welfare will merely be to administer funds and perform audit functions. Community services will be continued but under the new Health Department to be created by a Reagan reorganization plan now before the Legislature.

Martin expresses strong feelings about this prospect: "More than anything else in the Nixon plan, this approach disturbs me," he stated in an interview with *California Journal*. "We should be encouraging thoses states which have made an effort to meet the need. Where states don't fulfill need they should face federal sanctions or even federal operation and control."

Now that the bill carrying the Nixon plan has passed the House, many states, including California, are taking their first close look at the welfare "reform" plan. This evaluation by the states may well lead to an open confrontation with the President, perhaps at the next Western Governors' Conference (June 7th in Salt Lake City), unless the administration modifies its plan to give the states an expanded role. The President may be particularly vulnerable to this appeal because of his advocacy of "new federalism" in which the states are presumed to play a creative and independent role.

What concessions are the states likely to want under the Nixon plan? Social Welfare Director Martin argues that the federal government ought to be more concerned with what is accomplished and less with how it is administered. He suggests that there are objective criteria available by which the federal government can judge the adequacy of a program, and that the states ought to have freedom of choice in determining how those objectives are fulfilled.

Martin has developed a plan of his own which he hopes to implement, and he says that California would like to be a demonstration state aided by bloc grants from federal funds. Unless the Nixon plan is forced upon the state without any options, he expects that he will have the opportunity to try his program in the form of a pilot project in several counties.

Martin's Proposal

The department's proposal, which has gone to the Human Relations Agency and to the Cabinet on a preliminary basis, calls for the creation of quasi-public service corporations to be formed by aid recipients, with technical assistance and funding (at existing levels) provided by federal, state and local government. The funding would be released to the corporations on a bloc grant basis. Under this concept, the role of the state would be as investor and auditor to evaluate the effectiveness of the corporations' program. A fully developed plan is to be completed by the department staff within 60 days.

Martin's argument is that existing programs, including the Nixon plan, are not hopeful for the recipient, provide no new jobs, and do not get at the basic problems of welfare. A successful program, he believes, would be one that gets the acceptance of the consumer (recipient) and the rest of the taxpaying population and increases productivity in the area. "If you can change attitudes," he contends, "you have done more than anyone in welfare to date. I don't see that institutionalizing and adding layers of bureaucracy will get acceptance by all citizens and help people help themselves."

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Counties Put Forth Their Own Welfare Plan

Spurred by the knowledge that the Nixon administration was preparing a broad new welfare program and concerned that local experience and knowledge would be ignored, the County Supervisors Association and the County Welfare Directors Association joined in late 1969 to prepare their own proposals for reforming and streamlining welfare programs. The result of this effort was brought forth in early April in the form of a lengthy and well-written report titled *Public Welfare: Time for Change.*

The first premise of this report is that government "... has the responsibility for assuring that all individuals in our society are able to obtain adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and other basic necessities of life."

From this base the report lauches its principal long-range proposals:

- There should be a total separation of public assistance programs for the employable and the unemployable.
- There should be a national program of "work security" providing training and employment for all those who can work, with the government as the employer of last resort.
- There should be a national program of income security for those unable to work, combining all the existing aid programs into a single program with need as the single measure of eligibility.
- The programs which provide specific social services should be continued, but entirely separate from the income maintenance program, voluntary and available to everyone.

A major objective of this proposal, according to its authors, is to separate the "employables" from the "unemployables" on welfare. "Mixing these two groups together under one direct cash income maintenance program for the needy serves to create public confusion and criticism," the report says. Under this proposal, welfare benefits would be provided only for the unemployable; all others would be employed, either as a result of special training for available jobs or by public agencies in a manner similar to that of the WPA in the 1930's.

Short-Term Proposals

The report also proposes a series of short-term changes in existing welfare programs, generally tightening up AFDC provisions, simplifying and standardizing aid and subvention formulas, consolidating the adult categories of aid and transferring all enforcement responsibilities to regular law enforcement agencies. Several of these proposals may soon show up in the Duffy bill.

It is the long range proposals which are emphasized in the report, however. CSAC and CWDA are planning a series of public presentations intended to publicize these proposals and to show Congress that there is broad "grass roots" support for a radical restructuring of public assitance. It is unlikely, however, that this report will have significant impact unless the Nixon proposals suddenly lose their present momentum in Congress. Enactment of the Nixon program in its present form may be expected to satisfy temporarily the current demand for major reform.

Major State & Federal Studies Offer Evidence Of Welfare Program Failure

During the past decade there have been a number of major studies at the state and national level which have proposed reform of the welfare programs. Many of the earlier studies were directed at broadening the assistance programs, extending AFDC coverage to include more needy dependent children, rationalizing the various federal-state-county costsharing relationships, improving rehabilitation and re-employment efforts, and reducing abuses and fraud.

More recently, however, there has been a series of studies and reports which have recommended more thorough-going changes in public assistance. The principal objectives of these recommendations have been to achieve greater equity among the states, to simplify the administration of welfare and to insure adequate income support levels. Among these studies are the report of the President's Advisory Council on Welfare (1966), A Legislative Program for Reform by the California Assembly (1969), the Technical Assistance Project of the American Public Welfare Association (1968), the President's Commission on Income Maintenance (1969), and the Report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1969).

Each of these studies offered dramatic evidence of the failure of welfare programs in terms of the eradication of hunger and other consequences of severe economic deprivation. Each provided clear evidence of the tangle of bureaucracy and conflicting goals which have grown up around public assistance. Each described serious inequities between categories of assistance and among the counties and states as to the level and effectiveness of the aid offered. And each emphasized the fact that the cost of several of the major programs, AFDC in particular, can be expected to continue to rise sharply without really altering the character and incidence of poverty.

Now, in 1970, it appears that at least some of the conclusions and recommendations advanced in these studies may finally be implemented. A radical reform of public assistance as it has developed since the early 1930's will take time, of course, and a great deal of discussion and debate. But it now begins to appear that the time for a major change may have arrived.

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1970 WELFARE LEGISLATION

While top cabinet members were devoting their attention to long-range plans, the Reagan administration's 1970 welfare program was having a rough time at its first legislative hearing before the Assembly Health and Welfare Committee. The bill (AB 1360) is called the Welfare Reform Act of 1970 and is authored by Assemblyman Gordon Duffy, the committee chairman. The measure embodies the basic features of the Governor's message on welfare (*California Journal*, March 1970, page 72).

In his opening remarks to the committee, Duffy observed that the bill was not in final form and invited all witnesses appearing at the hearing to direct their testimony to amendments which should be considered by the committee. Duffy made it clear throughout the day's hearing that he was not happy with many of the features of his bill, but he took pains to avoid having criticism directed at the administration by admonishing witnesses that it was his bill, not the Governor's.

cost more money" and that politicians must be candid with the people even though such candor might not be accepted by the majority.

Duffy's willing acceptance of criticism of "his" bill suggests that he expects to amend it substantially before he is prepared to move it out of committee. His central interest in the legislation is the increase in AFDC allowances, which was recommended by an earlier report on malnutrition by his committee (*California Journal*, January 1970, Page 12). According to that report, between 55 and 65 percent of AFDC cases must live on incomes below the minimum basic standard of adequate care as defined by law. AB 1360 carries an increase of approximately 30 percent in the aid to needy children category. The increase is accomplished, however, through "savings" in other programs. Duffy's authorship of the administration's welfare package with its emphasis on cutbacks in welfare costs

Estimated Sharing of Costs for Major Public Assitance in California, 1970-71 (Millions)

	County	*State*	*Federal*	*Total*
Aid to the Blind	*$ 2.9*	*$ 8.9*	*$ 10.8*	*$ 22.7*
Aid to Needy Disabled	*17.9*	*107.5*	*114.4*	*239.8*
Old Age Security	*27.1*	*162.7*	*188.6*	*378.4*
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	*204.4*	*320.7*	*432.6*	*957.7*
	$252.3	*$599.8*	*$746.4*	*$1,598.6*

Source: Legislative Analyst

One attack on the bill was virtually conceded by the Health and Welfare Committee chairman when he called upon Legislative Counsel George Murphy who informed the committee that the bill's provision reducing aid benefits to first year California residents is unconstitutional. With the exception of the testimony of administration spokesmen, the remainder of the day's hearing was a parade of criticism of the welfare "reform" measure.

The witness most favorably received by the committee was Coleman Blease, representing the social workers, who masterfully praised the committee while methodically ticking off his disagreement with the bill. Blease characterized the proposed act as a measure which redistributes poor people's money and emphasizes punitive aspects of the law. He called for a recognition that "human responsibilities

apparently reflects a judgment that it offers the only vehicle to provide an AFDC grant increase.

The decision by the Assembly Health and Welfare Committee chairman to carry the administration program came after a period of strained relations with the Governor's office. This developed when it became obvious that the release of his committee's report on hunger reflected on the administration's study of welfare fraud which was issued at about the same time. The conflict between the concerns of the two studies required some careful statements by the Governor, particularly after Duffy remarked that if he were on welfare, he would expect his wife to cheat if it meant that his children wouldn't have to go hungry.

The aftermath of the first committee hearing on AB 1360 indicates that the prospects for financing the desired AFDC grant increases without resorting to new money are limited, and that the Governor's program will be altered considerably if it is to get over its first legislative hurdle.

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LEGISLATURE

John Miller Discusses His Election

Shortly after his election as Assembly Democratic Leader, John Miller discussed the significance of his election and his views on the future of his party in California (see Editor's Note, page 94).

California Journal: For a couple of weeks before your election, it was clear that it was a deadlock and the press reported there were three different factions competing. Could you tell us just how the deadlock was resolved and how you came to be the choice of the caucus?

Assemblyman John Miller: I wouldn't have said there were three factions. The [Assemblyman Robert] Crown faction, because it was so small, was more cohesive than the others. I would suspect the [Assemblyman Willie] Brown faction was made up of three groups: blacks, some personal friends of Willie who were moderates, and some younger liberals. The [Assemblyman Carlos] Bee faction was mainly Democrats from marginal districts, a few of whom felt that Willie, as a black person, represented a threat to them in marginal districts. It was put bluntly at times.

I think it was Assemblyman Charlie Warren who first mentioned to me, "Why not you as the minority leader?" And I said, "Are you crazy? Number one, nobody would vote for me; number two, I don't want it; number three, it wouldn't be good for the Party. Don't tell anyone else about it — don't mention it!"

In these leadership fights you're talking about *primus inter pares* — first among equals. There's a lot of ego involved and there's a feeling that the bloodiest fights are fratricidal fights. So this business was very, very bitter as a matter of fact. Guys want to fight for the cape, taking off their coats and that kind of thing which was all the reason in the world why I didn't want to be involved.

I think what happened was that Willie threw a gauntlet down. He said, "All right, so it's my personality, I'm abrasive, and I've told people where to go, but I think it's racism. Would you take another black guy?" To most of the Crown people this was a challenge and they said, "Yes, we'll take a black guy; we'll take John Miller." I don't believe that either the Crown forces or the Brown forces felt that all of their people would vote for John Miller so it was still going to be a stand-off.

But Monday they say, "it's together and we'll have all the votes."

Well, up until the vote nobody believed there were 20. Our best vote counter thought there were 19 but then I took a hand in it. One guy I knew was interested in one of these positions. I went to him and said, "Look, I have 20 votes now and if I have 21, I'll know it's you." Truth of the matter is, there were 19 but he apparently fell for it so there were then 20 and I was elected to my surprise and everybody else's surprise.

Journal: One of the premises that appeared to run through the negotiations was the return of the Democrats to the majority. Considerable concern was expressed as to what this meant in the next speakership election. Your first statement was that you would not be a candidate for speaker. Why did you feel called upon to make that statement, and what effect did that have on the votes being put together?

Miller: There were 20 votes for me from all these diverse factions. Now, mind you, I said the Brown faction was really three, so this is about four factions when you put the Brown and the Crown factions together. Probably they felt and realized that I had no ambitions for leadership to begin with and that I would therefore be the perfect person. This in a sense forestalled a speakership fight. There's some who believe that Willie was not necessarily running for Speaker but was a stalking horse for someone else — at least the Crown people felt so.

Hugo

I don't want to be speaker and said that immediately to allay any fears of anybody that I might be the dark horse speaker. I think that the reason I got the 20 votes and why, incidentally, all the acrimony and disappointment that the Gonsalves people felt is pretty much dissipated now is that they have seen that I really was drafted. I really did not go out and try to get the seat. This may work, I believe, for the unification of the party.

I also think, and I don't say this just for publication, that the Democrats will either gain three seats or two seats, or at least one, which in essence makes it a new ballgame. There is at least one potential candidate for speaker who is interested in putting together a bi-partisan coalition, and that person's a Democrat. So I think there will be a Democratic speaker.

Journal: That person voted for you.

Miller: I think so. Now then, some keep saying, "Well, you didn't push to become an Assemblyman, you didn't push to become minority leader, and you're not pushing to be speaker; maybe you'll be drafted into the speakership." I don't think that'll really come about. That's really a job you have to work at and I don't think really that my constituents would be very happy about me being speaker because I then would have to take a lot of positions that I don't believe in and that they don't believe in.

Journal: A major factor in winning elections is money. Another significant factor in the leadership election was the fund-raising ability of the Democratic leader.

Miller: I think first of all that's a fallacy. I think the only reason that there's some thought that the leader was a money raiser is because my predecessor was Jess Unruh. Jess had been a money raiser and he's been the speaker and minority leader for so many years now that most people can't think of an era when there wasn't Jess Unruh. That really is not the job of the floor leader. That's essentially, I think, the job of the caucus chairman — at least it has had to be Zenovich's job because Jess wasn't here. I don't really see any big change there.

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Incidentally, I don't think anybody's going to give money to Gonsalves or Willie or Crown because they are Gonsalves, Willie, or Crown. They're going to give the money because there's going to be a certain amount of money given the Democrats anyway. Quite frankly, although I didn't tout myself as a money raiser and still don't, I still think there will be a number of groups who have not contributed money in the past who will be more amenable to giving money now because they'll think essentially, that they're not giving it to a "bag man." I quite frankly use the theory that if you don't give money to legislators to get good guys elected, you're gonna get bad guys. And people are listening. I think labor, for example, which doesn't have a lot of money, is ready to give. The conservationist groups, the ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), which really is a rich man's club, will now give money. I think I can go to certain groups that have not been contributing in the past and ask for contributions. Also, among the 20 who voted for me are people who specialize in raising money.

Journal: When you met the press after your election, you spoke of a new era for the party. Where do you think the Democratic votes of the future lie and how do you think the Democratic Party will go about mining those votes?

Miller: I think that we have to forget the old populist coalition. I think we have to look for new coalitions. For example, the young middle class educated people who, because of status climbing or whatever, may become Republicans if they live in suburbs, but may not necessarily want to follow that particular party.

I think if we seize on the right issues, which are consumer affairs, education, taxes, and, of course, conservation, we'll have the younger people who are coming out of colleges, who are now educated, who have families, who essentially are not radical, and are interested in the quality of living.

I don't believe that the Republican Party as it is presently constituted and as it is presently led in California, gives that image. It's really a "look back" image. It looks, quite frankly, more toward picking up the know-nothing vote, the self-made very rich, and some blue collar people who are not educated and, as a result of their present economic circumstances, feel that they should and must vote for Republicans and conserve what little they have. I call it the have-littles versus the have-nots. However, given the present economic situation, even the blue collar people have to remember all of a sudden that they are, after all, Democrats. This may be one of the reasons why I have this feeling that we're going to control the Assembly again.

There will always be the ultra liberals like myself who will continue to work with the party because they feel this is the only way you can get such ideas going. But there's a greater and a newer kind of coalition made up of young, educated people and, of course, those who are drawn to the party because of economics.

Journal: You're talking about the new era and the appeal to people to deliver on the issues like conservation that cross the traditional populist coalition lines and at the same time you've got the straight practical politics of elections and bringing in sufficient revenue to insure that your candidate has a base to run from to make that kind of appeal. How do you see reconciling this delimma?

Miller: I think, quite frankly, that in the past most of the issue-oriented people have not been willing to contribute or have not contributed. The one thing that got the CDC (California Democratic Council) volunteer groups into a powerful position back in the late 50's was that they used manpower where money power wasn't. I found in my experience that the special interests, even though they may contribute heavily to other campaigns, tend to contribute to all campaigns and also tend to gravitate toward what they consider to be winners because they don't necessarily want to be on the outs when somebody gets in.

As a result, I don't see the Democratic Party, as long as it has good candidates who appear to be winners, being absolutely dry. There may be a lot of money elsewhere but I don't see the party going begging. Right now it is because most of the good candidates, quite frankly, have been Republicans, the new fresh faces across the country, the young Senators, have been Republicans; the Democrats have been guys who are holdovers from the Roosevelt era.

When I mentioned a new era of Democratic politics in California, I was mainly referring to the coming of age and of power of the young guys who were in my class. It's kind of a changing of the guard, and I was the object of the change because, I suppose, I talked a lot on the floor or in committees. And I wasn't asking for anything and wasn't trying to get anywhere. I don't see that I was made the leader because I was leading so much, but because I represented essentially a kind of compilation of what a majority of the Democratic members feel that the party should represent.

Journal: In your day-to-day work it appears that you operate in a much more pragmatic way than many of your fellow liberals. Is this a matter of style, or . . . ?

Miller: There's no question whether it's a different style. I quite frankly have Fabian notions about things. I think the people who have any kind of power at all resent, number one, having it taken away, and if you're going to take it away, you have to make it as pleasant as possible and either educate them to the other point of view or just trick them out of it, quite frankly, without making them feel too badly, because there's always a possibility they can regain power again. If they're mad enough about it they'll go out and do it. I think this is essentially the difference between what I consider the style of relaxed reasoning rather than the uptight people who say "you're a lot of S.O.B.'s, you've never done anything good, you never will do anything good and I think I'll go out and shoot you." It doesn't make any sense at all, but it has been the mode of doing things in the United States at least for the last five or six years. It's what I call confrontation politics. I don't think it works frankly.

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Stiffer Pesticide Law Sought

Recent public concern about the effects of pesticides generally divides itself into two categories, human and environmental. Human concerns deal with both consumer and occupational consequences. The Department of Public Health and the Department of Agriculture jointly bear the responsibility for monitoring consumer food supplies to be sure that pesticide levels do not exceed established tolerances, if any. Occupational safety problems are controlled by the Department of Agriculture in its general regulatory program and in specific regulations applicable to commercial pest control operators and their employees. In addition, the Division of Industrial Safety in the Department of Industrial Relations has issued regulations relating to the safety of workers in agriculture which include provisions governing the use of pesticides.

Environmental Concern

Regulation of pesticide use for environmental protection is of more recent concern. While some environmental protection occurred incidentally, the basic pesticide control statutes administered by the Department of Agriculture were oriented toward preventing injury to crops, livestock, farmers, and farm workers, and the fraudulent sale of pesticides. This basic law was amended only last year (SB 1140 — Beilenson) to place environmental considerations on an equal basis with other statutory objectives.

Recently, environmentalists have been pushing hard for a ban on the use of non-degradable or persistent pesticides (generally chlorinated hydrocarbons) such as DDT. They point to a substantial body of research indicating a connection between DDT and the reproductive capacity of certain fish and birds, and to the imponderable future effects of the accumulation of long-lived pesticides in the environment. On the other hand, defenders of persistent pesticides argue that much of the research is still incomplete, that pesticides such as DDT have had massive worldwide beneficial effects in food production and disease prevention, and that proposed non-persistent substitutes are of substantially higher immediate toxicity to both humans and wildlife.

In 1969, freshman Senator John Nejedly introduced SB 1430 to ban the use of DDT and all other chlorinated hydrocarbons in California by 1972. The bill was passed by the Senate but was defeated in the Assembly when the Assembly Committee on Agriculture adopted "comprehensive environmental protection" amendments to Senator Anthony Beilenson's SB 1140. As amended, SB 1140 gave the Director of Agriculture broad authority to ban or regulate the use of pesticides he found to be environmentally harmful. It also established an inter-disciplinary advisory committee to review the department's programs and a new statistical reporting system on pesticide use.

This year, Senator Nejedly has reintroduced his bill to ban DDT (SB 16). In modified form, it has won approval by the Senate Committee on Agriculture over the objections of the department and agricutural and chemical interests, and appears headed once again for a collision course with the Assembly Committee on Agriculture chaired by William M. Ketchum, who favors leaving decisions on individual chemicals up to the Director of Agriculture.

Phase-out of DDT

State Director of Agriculture, Jerry Fielder, has stated that the department has already embarked on an orderly program, pursuant to SB 1140, to phase out the use of DDT in California by 1972, that current state use of DDT is less than 7 percent of the level a decade ago and that this level should drop to less than 2 percent at the end of the current year. Fielder recently outlawed DDT on two major user crops, sweet corn and cotton, on the grounds that substitute chemicals were now available. Senator Beilenson has just introduced three bills (SB 1374, 1375, 1376) which would tighten controls on pest control applicators.

Farm Workers

In 1968, the occupational safety issue in regard to pesticide use was articulated by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and became part of the publicity attendant to the boycott of California table grapes. UFWOC filed suits in Kern and Riverside counties and last year introduced legislation (AB 730 — Roberti) in an unsuccessful attempt to have county pesticide records made public. A UFWOC supported bill (AB 2030 — Roberti) asking for a review of the agricultural safety order promulgated by the Division of Industrial Safety was passed by the Assembly last year but killed in the Senate.

Early this year, the Department of Public Health published a report requested by the Legislature (ACR 173 — Warren) on the occupational hazards of pesticide use. The report indicated that the adverse effects of such use were being under-reported by workers and medical personnel. Subsequently, bills have been introduced in both the Senate (SB 1347 — Petris) and Assembly (AB 2349 — Zenovich) to further regulate employee safety in the use of pesticides, and Senator Nejedly has already achieved Senate passage of a bill establishing more complete reporting procedure for pesticide-related injuries or illnesses (SB 22).

CALIFORNIA PESTICIDE LAW

Basic pesticide law requires the registration of each "economic poison" (pesticide) with the California Department of Agriculture prior to sale, together with a list of its proposed uses. The department may restrict the approved "label" (usage) for the pesticide or may prohibit the pesticide entirely. In addition, pesticides considered to constitute unusual hazards to "non-target" life can be classified by the department as "injurious materials". An injurious material can be used only under a specific permit from the Agricultural Commissioner (a state-certified county employee) in the county in which the pesticide is used. Applications of any economic poison by "pest control operators" (commercial applicators) are also subject to permit.

In addition, the Department of Agriculture exercises varying degrees of regulation over several occupational groups in the agricultural pest control business. "Pest control operators" are licensed by the department and must post a $25,000 bond or its equivalent. Both the operators and their employees are subject to registration and competency examination by County Agricultural Commissioners, and any PCO's or employees who operate aircraft must obtain an additional competency certificate. "Pesticide dealers" (wholesale retailers) are also licensed by the Department subject to comprehensive examination and to responsibility for the actions of "pest control agents" (salesmen) whom they employ and who must, in turn, be registered in each county in which they work.

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Joint Open Space Committee Reports

Recommendations for a State Office of Conservation and Development, state and local open space plans, and long-term development contracts with local government highlighted the long-awaited final report of the Legislature's Joint Committee on Open Space Land. The Committee, chaired by Assemblyman John Knox, was created in 1967 to implement the "Open Space Amendment" (Proposition 3) approved at the 1966 General Election.

The report drew majority support for proposals to:

- Create a State Office of Conservation and Development (to replace the State Office of Planning) which would prepare a state conservation and development plan, review conflicts between agencies of state and local governments, elaborate state open space policy, and control or review open space land use as prescribed by the Legislature (Ab 2181 — Knox).
- Require all local governments to adopt open space elements in general plans by 1973 and to enact open space zoning ordinances by 1974 (AB 2180 — Knox).

A significant part of the joint committee's efforts since its inception have been devoted to streamlining and elaborating upon the contractual land use restriction program for the preservation of agricultural open space, the California Land Conservation Act of 1965 (the Williamson Act). Legislation sponsored by the committee over the last three years has specified income-related assessment treatment for eligible land, consolidated and standardized the contract and agreement provisions of the LCA, broadened the act to cover other non-agricultural types of open space land, and created an optional scenic easement program. California land contractually committed to open space uses for a minimum of 10 years under the LCA may top five million acres this year — one-tenth of all privately-owned land in the state.

In this field, the joint committee report gave unanimous approval to proposals to:

- Permit land owners and local governments to enter into 50-year development planning contracts on land located in proximity to urban areas (AB 2175 — Knox).
- Specifically authorize the inclusion of land devoted to recreational uses under the LCA (AB 2178 — Knox).

At this juncture, the future of both the joint committee itself and its legislative program is somewhat in doubt. The Committee's current legislative authorization extends only until June 30th, and the adoption of its planning bills would largely give to the executive branch the committee's open space program oversight functions. The proposals for comprehensive open space planning may incur opposition, particularly to the extent that they supersede traditional prerogatives of local government. Likewise, as currently drafted they are at least partially inconsistent with similar proposals recently made by the Assembly's Select Committee on Environmental Quality.

Moreover, in his tax reform program the Governor is committed to providing replacement revenue to local agencies (including school districts) affected by LCA contracts, in exchange for making the program mandatory in all counties. Thus, the success or failure of the tax reform bill may have great influence on both the continued expansion of the contractual principle of open space preservation and the degree of state direction and coordination of local open space efforts.

Environmental Bill of Rights

The California Assembly Select Committee on Environmental Quality recently issued a report entitled "Environmental Bill of Rights" which takes a comprehensive look at California's environmental problems. The report proposes a plan of action for dealing with these problems.

The Select Committee, appointed by Assembly Speaker Bob Monagan in January, is composed of the chairmen of permanent standing committees in the Assembly which have responsibilities and interest in the environment. The committee is chaired by Assemblyman George W. Milias, chairman of the Assembly Natural Resources and Conservation Committee.

Recommendations

The report makes 34 recommendations on improving and preserving the environment and financing a far-reaching attack on the forces that are degrading the state's land, air and water.

The report proposes an "environmental bill of rights" (ACA 55 — Milias), which must be approved by the Legislature and by the voters in November before it becomes effective. It would write into the Constitution that the Legislature shall enact legislation "To ensure for the people of the state, now and in the future, clean air, pure water, freedom from excessive noise, and enjoyment of scenic, historic, natural, and aesthetic values."

Also proposed is the Environmental Quality Act (AB 2045 — Knox) to require all state and local agencies to consider the impact of their activities on the state's environment.

To achieve an improved planning process at the state, regional and local level, the report recommends abolishing the present State Office of Planning and replacing it with a State Policy Development Office which would report directly to the Governor (AB 2070 — Wilson). The new office would be charged with developing an integrated environmental monitoring system which would highlight problems of the environment.

Billions Needed

It is estimated that $3 to $5 billion over the next five to ten years will be required to improve and protect California's total environment. Recommended initially is the assumption of the excise tax on automobiles when it is eliminated by the federal government in 1971 and a temporary increase in the cigarette tax which will raise at least $100 million annually (AB 2199 — Briggs). The report recommends that the Legislature establish an environmental fund as a source of continuing support for critically needed programs.

Another major report recommendation is the support for a constitutional amendment (ACA 38 — Foran) allowing the use of gas tax monies for air pollution control and the prevention and mitigation of environmental damage, as well as a balanced statewide transportation system.

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Public Employees

1970 may be remembered as a year when labor-management strife was rampant throughout the country. In California as elsewhere, a new militancy has animated public employees. While the headlines point out the crises situations — a teacher strike in Los Angeles, a walk-out of municipal employees in San Francisco, or a police strike in Vallejo — the Legislature provides another arena where less volatile but equally vital battles are won and lost.

Assemblyman Charles Warren of Los Angeles has introduced AB 98 which requires compulsory arbitration of disputes over salaries, pensions, and fringe benefits for policemen and firemen. These increasingly militant groups of public employees believe that only mandatory settlements can brium with the public agency. Many contend they currently have no right to strike. Local agencies are particularly opposed to the bill. The Leàgue of California Cities has said, "The ultimate control of government must remain with the public, and to delegate to any individual or group or arbitrators, who are not responsible to the public, control over 80 percent of the operating budget (salaries and fringe benefits), would be more intolerable than a strike."

Retirement Measures

Local government representatives are also fighting SB 601, authored by Senator Alan Short, and AB 1261, authored by Assemblyman Richard Barnes which would provides for voluntary retirement of policemen and firemen at age 50 at 2 percent of final salary per year of service and mandatory retirement at age 60. The policemen behind a reorganized and well-financed lobby known as PORAC (Peace Officers Research Association of California) are pushing hard for the legislation as they did in 1969.

SB 695 authored by Sixteen Senators and eight Assemblymen is another major PORAC measure this session. Twenty-seven thousand of the state's 32,000 sworn law-enforcement personnel will have a great deal at stake in terms of salary increases if the measure passes.

Another bill which should be popular in the law enforcement community is AB 317, authored by Democratic Assemblymen Robert Crown and John Knox. The bill makes clear that the quality of law enforecement is of statewide concern rather than a purely local matter.

The California State Employees Association, which late last year removed a "no strike" provision from its constitution, has also been taking a hard line stance under President Robert Carlson. CSEA is currently negotiating with the Governor's Office for a collective bargaining arrangement which is sometimes referred to as formal representation. The outcome of the talks will, of course, greatly affect the fate of AB 2210, introduced by Assemblyman Milias, which would establish the procedure.

Judgements

Legislation to revamp automobile repossession practices by eliminating the "deficiency judgment" has been passed by the Assembly. It was heard on the floor of the Assembly for the first time, after seven years of annual introduction. Introduced by Assemblyman Henry Waxman, AB 536, which was amended to cover the repossession of used cars only, has been referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Provisions of the Waxman bill prevent automobile dealers and finance companies from obtaining a judgment against the automobile purchaser after a used car has been repossessed and sold. The judgments typically are for the difference between the balance owed by the purchaser and the amount received by the dealer after resale of the repossessed car, plus costs and legal fees of the dealer or financer.

Tacit Deals

The bill's proponents maintain that its enactment will prohibit dealers from repossessing a used car, reselling it below market value to a fellow dealer under a tacit reciprocal arrangement and then suing the purchaser for the deficiency.

Poverty lawyers led by Sacramento County Legal Aid Society Attorney Guy B. Peto, who provided strong support for the legislation, argued that deficiency judgments contributed to increased bankruptcy and welfare dependency.

Lending institutions and automobile dealers opposed the measure, arguing that the deficiency judgment remedy is necessary to insure lower down payments in the sale of cars. They argue that this benefits the consumer by allowing more people to own automobiles without substantial capital outlay. The opponents held that loan policies would be more restrictive, thus limiting the purchasing power of lower income consumers.

Tax Legislation

Governor Reagan's tax program passed its first two tests as it was passed April 20 by the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee and April 28 by the Ways and Means Committee. The two bills which embody the program, AB 1000 and AB 1001, received bipartisan support each time, being approved by votes of 11-3 in the policy committee and 12-4 in the fiscal committee.

Before being passed by the Revenue and Taxation Committee, the statewide property tax for public school support was deleted. This came as no surprise as it has failed passage during the two previous sessions and did not have strong support from the Governor. The proposal, which would have shifted some $60 million from richer to poorer districts was opposed by Democratic Assemblyman Leo T. McCarthy who charged that it drained essential funds from urban districts, such as San Francisco, which have high assessed property values.

In the Ways and Means Committee, two changes were made: the oil depletion limitation was changed to the 22.5 percent depletion allowance ceiling recently adopted by the federal government; and the local expenditure controls were reduced to what the Legislative Analyst termed a "facade". The depletion allowance change reduces new revenue by approximately $20 million.

Efforts by Democrats to amend into the bill substantial new support for the public schools at the cost of property tax "reform" were turned back in both committees.

Democratic Alternatives

Democrats on the Senate side meanwhile moved to amend additional school funds into their alternative to the Governor's program. Senator George Moscone, author of the legislation, announced he would amend his bill to provide $210.2 million in additional revenue by increasing both personal income and corporation taxes. The amendment will raise the corporation tax from 7 percent to 8 percent and eliminate the first bracket which had been proposed for state income taxes.

The appropriation and distribution of these funds is provided for in a bill by Senator Stephen Teale. That bill, SB 327, appropriates a total of $320.2 million in additional school support, with $110 million, the amount not covered by Moscone's bill, to be gained from a statewide property tax.

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Drug Control Measures Offered

Legislation to require more stringent controls on the manufacture and distribution of legitimately produced drugs encountered solid opposition from spokesmen for the drug industry and medical profession as the Assembly Health and Welfare Subcommittee on Drug Abuse and Alcoholism opened hearings on the proposed drug control measures. The bills, authored by Assemblyman William Campbell, result from a recent investigation by the subcommittee, which he chairs.

The principal findings of the subcommittee were that gross production figures for such drugs as amphetamines and barbiturates are many times greater than required for proper medical use and that existing laws and regulations are inadequate to prevent the diversion of such drugs along the manufacturing and distribution chain. The porposed bills will:

- Prohibit all drug sales unless receipts of sales are recorded (AB 219).
- Require special "triplicate prescriptions" for amphetamines and barbiturates (AB 220).
- License export brokers that ship drugs to foreign countries (AB 222).
- Outlaw the possession of chemicals used to manufacture methamphetamine – "speed" (AB 218).
- Require drug advertisers to spend 25 percent of the drug advertising dollar on drug abuse education (AB 223).

The main emphasis of the subcommittee's drug control package is to remedy inadequacies in the regulation of drug distribution which permit diversion from legitimate channels into the illicit market. Diversion of drugs takes place at many points along the distribution chain. Theft from manufacturers, trucking operations, wholesalers or distributors, and theft at the pharmacy or physician level is one source of diversion. Illegal mail order purchases, primarily through wholesale houses, have been identified as another source of diversion. There were even instances of foreigh shipments which never arrived at their destination. The remedy involves stringent record-keeping from the point of manufacture to the point of prescription and retail sale.

Drug Over-production

The Campbell subcommittee is also concerned with the over-production of drugs. According to committee statistics 16 billion amphetamines and barbiturates are produced annually in the United States, and only eight or nine billion are legitimately prescribed. Referring to the gross production figure Assemblyman Campbell observed: "That's nearly 100 pills for every man, woman and child. To this volume of productions one has only to add the tremendous amount of illegally produced drugs to realize the extent to which 'better living through chemistry' is a very real part of American life."

The most controversial feature of the legislative package is the tightening up on prescriptions at the physician level by requiring "triplicate prescriptions" which would entail burdensome paper work for doctors and pharmacists but which would permit tracing the manner in which drugs get into the illicit market. The one dissent to the medical profession opposition came from the Board of Medical Examiners which regulates practices of the medical profession and licenses physicians.

Governor's Program

The Reagan administration program closely parallels that developed by the Campbell subcommittee but lays greater emphasis on controlling the shipment of drugs along the distribution chain. The Governor has not endorsed the highly controversial prescription proposals. The Governor's drug abuse package, being carried by San Diego Assemblyman Pete Wilson, has also been referred to the Campbell subcommittee. Principal features of the administration program are: intrastate control of inventory, shipment and sale of dangerous drugs with state jurisdiction over warehouses used for storage of drugs and custom brokers who deal in drugs; reporting on sale of active components of any restricted dangerous drugs; and state regulation of physicians who sell drugs.

Prohibit Amphetamines

One of the most far reaching proposals before the subcommittee is the bill (AB 1688) by Democratic Assemblyman Harvey Johnson which flatly prohibits the use of amphetamines except in the presence of a physician or registered nurse and permits prescriptions of amphetamines for self-medication only in the treatment of narcolepsy, Parkinson's Disease, epilepsy, and certain neurological disorders occuring among children. The thrust of the bill is to prescribe specifically the few legitimate uses of amphetamines to halt the over-production and diversion of the drug into illegal channels.

The emphasis at this session of the legislature on regulating the distribution of drugs and attempting to control manufacture represents a new trend in the state's effort to control the drug problem and its attendant human costs. In shifting concern from reliance on criminal sanctions to controling the sources of the drugs themselves, the legislative proponents of these proposals have introduced economic incentives for the legitimate drug industry to help find solutions for the drug problem.

○

Negro Assemblyman Willie Brown recently introduced Rep. George Brown, a Caucasian who is Willie's candiate for U.S. Senate: "Every time I introduce George Brown I have the feeling I may be introducing a man whose family once owned my family."

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Status of Major Bills

The following is the history and status of major bills before the Legislature as of April 30.

GOVERNOR'S TAX PROGRAM. AB 1000, AB 1001 (Bagley). Approved April 20 by Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee, and April 28 by Ways and Means Committee, 12-4, with amendments (see p. 104).

DEMOCRATIC TAX ALTERNATIVE. SB 540 (Moscone). In Senate Revenue and Tax Committee.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST. AB 430 (Monagan). On March 26th, the State Supreme Court declared the major portion of the existing law unconstitutional, making the amendments proposed in AB 430 unnecessary. No further action is expected to this session on this bill.

GAS TAX ALLOCATION. ACA 38 (Foran). Passed with amendments by Assembly Committee on Transportation. In Committee on Elections and Constitutional Amendments; set for special hearing April 30.

GAS TAX SPLIT. SB 85 (Mills). Passed by Senate Committee on Transportation March 11. Passed by Senate on reconsideration April 14. In Assembly Committee on Transportation.

COASTAL CONSERVATION. AB 640 (Milias, Ryan). In Assembly Committee on Natural Resources and Conservation. Hearing May 6.

SCHOOL FINANCE. SB 327 (Teale). In Senate Education Committee.

TEACHER LICENSING. AB 122 (Ryan). Received unanimous approval in Assembly Education and Assembly Ways and Means Committees. Passed by Assembly March 16, 60-3. Sent to Senate Education; hearing April 27th.

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM. AB 318 (Duffy). Passed by Assembly Health and Welfare Committee February 5. Approved by Ways and Means Committee March 18. Passed 54-5 by Assembly with urgency clause March 20. Approved by Senate Committee on Health and Welfare April 17 and referred to Finance; hearing May 4.

SCHOOL LUNCH FUNDS. SB 1 (Moscone). Passed Senate Committee on Education February 19 and referred to Committee on Finance where amended twice.

AUTOMOBILE POLLUTION. AB 79 (Schabarum). Amended in Committee on Transportation April 24. Set for special hearing May 14.

POLLUTION. AB 88 (Schabarum). Passed with amendments by Assembly Committee on Transportation March 20 and by Ways and Means Committee April 15. Passed by Assembly April 20, 70-0. In Senate Committee on Judiciary.

CONSUMER AFFAIRS. SB 330 (Song). In Senate Committee on Business and Professions.

CONSUMER LAW. AB 292 (Hayes). Amended in Assembly Judiciary Committee; to be heard May 4.

WELFARE REFORM. AB 1360 (Duffy). Committee on Health and Welfare. First hearing April 21, without action. Next hearing April 28 (see page 97).

LEGISLATIVE REORNIGAZATION. ACA 2 (Monagan). Approved by Assembly Rules Committee February 23 and by Committee on Elections and Constitutional Amendments April 16. In Ways and Means.

BENCH & BAR

Chief Justice Named

Governor Ronald Reagan on April 6 finally filled the vacancy as Chief Justice on the California Supreme Court with a relative unknown, naming Judge Donald R. Wright to the state's highest judicial post. Wright, 63, is from Pasadena and is associate justice of the second District Court of Appeals in Los Angeles.

Reagan, in announcing "one of the most important decisions I shall ever make as governor," strongly emphasized the need for judicial restraint as a prime factor in making his decision. Wright indicated his perspective when he said, "I am an advocate of judicial restraint and one who does not believe the function of the court is to legislate."

The Governor said an "exhaustive search" was conducted for a replacement for Chief Justice Roger J. Traynor who retired January 31. Associate Supreme Court Justice Louis H. Burke, 64, had been the center of speculation surrounding the appointment, and Wright's appointment came as some surprise. Reagan quipped at a press conference shortly before the appointment was announced that there appeared to be a national trend with regard to supreme court appointments that tended to make a fellow cautious. Wright himself claimed not to have known he was under consideration until a few days before the announcement.

At first it was thought that age was a factor militating against the elevation of Burke to Chief Justice. Wright, however, is only a year younger. It appears that the emphasis on judicial restraint operated against Burke who, while he is regarded as conservative, has differed with the Governor on at least two occasions, once when he voted with the majority to declare Proposition 14 unconstitutional and again when the Supreme Court unanimously supported a mass stay of executions pending a court decision on the constitutionality of the death penalty.

Unanimous approval by the Commission on Judicial Appointments composed of Attorney General Thomas Lynch, Acting Chief Justice Stanley Mosk and Los Angeles District Court of Appeal Justice Parker Wood on April 17 confirmed the nomination.

One of the lesser known candidates for the Democratic nomination for Governor is Dr. Jack W. Clapper, a psychiatrist. While governors in the past have been known upon hearing of the defeat of a pet bill to mutter doubts about the intelligence of the Legislature, Dr. Clapper is likely to bring legislative-executive relations to a new low. Arguing that "there's a fair share of nuts in politics," Dr. Clapper has pegged the exact number of legislators who "could profit from psychiatric treatment" at one in sixteen. Many will be surprised to hear this. For opposite reasons.

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POLITICAL ROUNDUP

Legislative Elections Approach Peak

Try as we might, there is no infallible system of predetermining the winners and losers of political campaigns by any index or measure. Each district and candidate is unique enough to provide the mystery that can make politics an all-consuming avocation and a dangerously insecure vocation.

Nevertheless, registration is a useful index of the relative vulnerability of a particular district for a particular party. *California Journal* has charted on the following two pages the registration of the state's incumbent legislators in an effort to provide at least a focus for discussion of the key primary and general election races. Readers may find it helpful to refer to the rankings throughout the remainder of the election year.

This month the *Journal* will concentrate on crucial primary contests. Some races, which will be very close in November but will not be complicated by significant intra-party warfare, have been overlooked.

Congress

The court-ordered reapportionment of 1967 served to solidify the hold of most incumbent congressmen. All were re-elected in 1968, and, except for the vacancies resulting from the death of Representatives Lipscomb and Utt and the U.S. Senate candidacies of Representatives Tunney and Brown, stability should be the case in 1970 as well.

Incumbent Congressman Jeffrey Cohelan of Berkeley may have a problem beating black Berkeley Councilman Ronald Dellums in a primary contest reminiscent of the Cohelan — Scheer Democratic battle-royal of 1966.

Another "safe" Democratic seat, the 31st Congressional District in Southwest Los Angeles, currently held by Charles Wilson, is being contested by a black candidate. Nate Holden, a candidate against Congressman Tom Rees in the 26th district in 1966, could give Wilson a tussle in the 66 percent Democratic district.

Champion of the ecological cause, Pete McCloskey of Portola Valley, who won re-election in 1968 with 80 percent of the vote, but only beat his Republican primary foe, Robert Barry, by 4,000 votes the Spring before, faces a potentially tougher opponent, Forden "Skip" Athearn, who is challenging him in the June primary in San Mateo County.

Republicans are quarreling over nominations in three highly vulnerable Democratic districts.

John McFall of Manteca, winner by increasingly slim margins, faces primary opposition and then a tough match with his two-time foe, Sam Van Dyken of Ripon, or perhaps Modesto dentist George E. Valentine or Lodi attorney Victor Goehring.

First termer Glenn Anderson, a victor over Peace Corps Director Joe Blatchford in 1968 by a slim 4,000 votes, will have trouble with either Redondo Beach Councilman Bob Westerfield or Torrance attorney Mike Donaldson, the two GOP primary contestants.

Orange County Congressman Richard Hanna, declared the most vulnerable Democrat each election year for a decade by frustrated Republicans, is

Congressional districts grouped by five percentiles of January 1970 Democratic registration indicating November 1968 or subsequent special election margins of victory. Republicans are printed in blue.

DIST.	COUNTY	MEMBER	% DEM. REG.	% 2-PARTY VOTE
		65% AND OVER		
21	Los Angeles	Hawkins	89.3	91.5
5	San Francisco	Burton	68.0	75.4
31	Los Angeles	Wilson	66.0	60.0
26	Los Angeles	Rees	65.6	67.6
		60-65%		
9	Santa Clara/Ala./S.M.	Edwards	62.9	56.5
17	Los Angeles	Anderson	62.8	51.2
29	Los Angeles	*Brown	62.4	52.2
16	Fresno/Merced	Sisk	62.1	63.8
30	Los Angeles	Roybal	61.8	69.8
8	Alameda	Miller	60.9	64.0
		55-60%		
4	See Footnote 1	Leggett	59.9	57.2
3	Sacramento	Moss	59.9	57.2
7	Alameda	Cohelan	59.4	67.9
23	Los Angeles	Clawson	58.3	60.0
22	Los Angeles	Corman	57.3	57.8
15	See Footnote 2	McFall	57.3	53.8
18	Kern/Tulare	Mathias	57.2	66.0
37	San Diego	Van Deerlin	56.7	64.6
2	See Footnote 3	Johnson	56.3	61.2
14	Contra Costa	Waldie	55.5	72.9
		50-55%		
6	S.F./Marin	Maillard	53.4	73.3
1	See Footnote 4	Clausen	53.3	77.9
11	San Mateo	McCloskey	52.9	80.2
38	Riverside/Imp./S. Bern.	*Tunney	52.0	63.8
34	Orange/L.A.	Hanna	51.9	50.8
33	San Bernardino	Pettis	51.2	67.4
12	See Footnote 5	Talcott	51.1	97.4
		45-50%		
25	L.A./Orange	Wiggins	49.4	68.6
13	L.A./Sta. B/Ventura	Teague	49.1	65.8
32	L.A./Orange	Hosmer	48.5	75.4
10	Sta. Clara/San Benito	Gubser	47.7	68.5
27	Los Angeles/Kern	Goldwater	47.6	56.9
		30-45%		
36	San Diego	Wilson	43.9	71.6
28	Los Angeles	Bell	43.8	72.6
24	L.A./San Bernardino	†Lipscomb	39.1	72.8
20	Los Angeles	Smith	38.2	70.4
35	Orange/San Diego	†Utt	39.1	74.2

*Incumbent not seeking reelection.
†Incumbent deceased; special election.

1 Congressional District 4 covers Colusa, Glenn, Lake, part of Sacramento, Solano, Sutter, Yolo, and Yuba Counties.
2 Congressional District 15 covers Merced, San Joaquin and Stanislaus Counties.
3 Congressional District 2 covers Alpine, Amador, Butte, Calaveras, El Dorado, Inyo, Lassen, Madera, Mariposa, Modoc, Mono, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity, and Tuolumne Counties.
4 Congressional District 1 covers Del Norte, Humboldt, part of Marin, Mendocino, Napa, and Sonoma Counties.
5 Congressional District 12 covers Kings, Monterey, San Luis Obispo, and Santa Cruz Counties.

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likely to face again William J. Teague of Garden Grove, who gave him a very tough race in 1968. V. Lane Knight, who lost to State Senator Ralph Dills in 1966 is challenging Teague in the primary.

In the 24th district, Pat Hillings, John Rousselot, and Bill McColl appear to be ahead of the rest. The withdrawal of Pasadena editor Ed Essertier may provide McColl, Hillings, and Judge Jack Alex with additional votes.

In the 35th congressional district, State Senator John Schmitz has moved perceptably to the left in order to stave off the challenge of John A. Steiger of San Diego County, an Oceanside city councilman, and Laguna Beach attorney William Wilcoxen — conservative Republicans in their own right.

State Senate

Twenty of the forty State Senate seats will be contested in November and with the balance between Democrats and Republicans and "Young Turks" and "Old Guard" so close, interest in the pre-reapportionment election year has been heightened. The retirement of three veteran senators and the alleged weakness of several others in both parties has caused some interesting primary scrambles.

Democrats Colby G. Smith of Redding and Melvyn E. Lucas of West Sacramento hope to meet Republican Senator Fred Marler in November. Smith, armed with the labor endorsement appears to have the lead and could prove even tougher than Fred Engle, brother of the late U.S. Senator and the original choice of some Democratic leaders.

San Bernardino Supervisor Nancy Smith is the leading Democratice hopeful in the 20th senate district. If she can best Dave Brownell of Victorville and Louis J. Gentile, who lost a Democratic primary race in the 35th district in 1968, she has a fighting chance against incumbent Republican William Coombs.

- Other Democratic senate primaries to watch: Senator Alfred Song versus Charles Pineda in the 28th district where a stiff battle with the Republicans looms for the Fall; and the 30th district where Senator Lawrence Walsh versus the field, led by Pico Rivera Councilman Jim Matkins, in this volatile district where Republicans are also hungry for a victory.

- Republican senate primaries to watch: the 22nd district where former policeman George O'Nan could give incumbent Democratic Senator Tom Carrell trouble if he beats systems analyst Dick Condon; the 18th district where Kern County Supervisor Leroy M. Jackson thinks Democratic veteran Senator Walter Stiern is vulnerable as does Jackson's primary foe, agribusinessman Bill Park.

Assembly

The Assembly is a most competitive arena each election year. A number of primaries are being fought that deserve mention.

Veteran incumbents Pauline Davis, a Democrat, and Robert Badham, a Republican, have opposition. Mrs. Davis will face Shasta Supervisor Patrick LaPointe and Badham will have stiff opposition from Dr. Nolan Frizzelle, an active party conservative, and engineer Gordon Bricker.

Several seats that have only recently gone Republican continue to attract optimistic Democratic hopefuls, and bitter primaries normally ensue. In Bakersfield, the 28th assembly district seat of Republican Kent Stacey is being fought over by Councilman Robert N. Whittemore and rancher Floyd L. Ming.

First term Assemblyman Henry Arklin of Pacoima has attracted five Democratic opponents led by Jim Keysor, a wealthy businessman endorsed by labor, and Councilman Manuel Flores of San Fernando, who sat out the 1968 election after losing in that year's Democratic primary.

Clare L. Berryhill, elected in a special election in 1969, may face the same Democratic foe, attorney Ernie LaCoste, unless young activist Mac Lopez can win the Democratic primary.

Senate districts grouped by five percentiles of January 1970 Democratic registration indicating November 1966 or 1968 or subsequent special election margins of victory. Republicans are printed in blue. Only Senators from even numbered districts are to be elected in 1970.

DIST.	COUNTY	MEMBER	% DEM. REG.	% 2-PARTY VOTE
		65% AND OVER		
29	Los Angeles	Dymally	80.6	84.4
31	Los Angeles	Wedworth	66.7	69.5
32	Los Angeles	Dills	66.2	57.7
		60-65%		
26	Los Angeles	Beilenson	64.4	63.6
30	Los Angeles	Walsh	63.4	55.2
10	San Francisco	Moscone	62.5	67.4
9	San Francisco	Marks	62.5	56.8
5	Sacramento	Rodda	62.3	64.7
16	Fresno	*Burns	61.9	67.7
33	Los Angeles	Kennick	61.7	67.3
11	Alameda	Petris	61.6	55.1
8	Alameda	Sherman	61.6	51.1
28	Los Angeles	Song	61.3	55.3
27	Los Angeles	Danielson	60.5	57.1
		55-60%		
18	Kings/Kern	Stiern	58.6	60.1
13	Santa Clara	Alquist	58.1	65.6
15	See Footnote 1	Way	58.0	55.7
3	See Footnote 2	Teale	57.4	61.7
22	Los Angeles	Carrell	57.0	53.4
6	Sac./San Joaq.	Short	55.7	58.0
7	Contra Costa	Nejedly	55.5	57.5
20	San Bernardino	Coombs	55.3	50.4
2	See Footnote 3	Marler	55.1	59.7
		50-55%		
1	See Foothote 4	Collier	54.2	61.3
40	Imp./San Diego	Mills	54.0	61.9
12	San Mateo	*Dolwig	53.5	59.9
4	Marin/Napa/Sol.	*McCarthy	53.2	53.1
37	Los Angeles	Deukmejian	50.1	100.0
17	See Footnote 5	Grunsky	50.0	100.0
		45-50%		
24	Sta. Bar./Ventura	Lagomarsino	49.9	63.9
23	Los Angeles	Cusanovich	48.6	64.4
14	Alameda/Sta. Clara	Bradley	48.0	66.4
36	Riverside/San Bern.	Cologne	47.7	67.6
35	Orange/L.A.	Whetmore	46.2	68.8
		30-45%		
25	Los Angeles	Stevens	43.3	67.8
39	San Diego	Schrade	42.7	64.4
38	San Diego	Burgener	42.1	73.7
19	Los Angeles	Richardson	39.9	68.3
21	Los Angeles	Harmer	39.4	72.7
34	Orange	*Schmitz	38.4	60.6

*Incumbent not seeking reelection.

1 Senate District 15 covers Fresno, Inyo, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Mono, and Tulare Counties.
2 Senate District 3 covers Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sierra, Stanislaus, and Tuolumne Counties.
3 Senate District 2 covers Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Shasta, part of Solano, Sutter, Tehama, Yolo, and Yuba Counties.
4 Senate District 1 covers Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Sonoma, and Trinity Counties.
5 Senate District 10 covers Monterey, San Benito, San Luis Obispo, and Santa Cruz Counties.

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Assembly districts grouped by five percentiles of January 1970 Democratic registration indicating November 1968 or subsequent special election margins of victory. Republicans are printed in blue.

DIST.	COUNTY	MEMBER	% DEM. REG.	% 2-PARTY VOTE
		65% AND OVER		
53	Los Angeles	Greene, B.	87.2	89.2
55	Los Angeles	Ralph	86.3	86.5
17	Alameda	Miller	71.7	86.3
61	Los Angeles	Waxman	68.8	66.1
63	Los Angeles	Brathwaite	68.1	69.5
65	Los Angeles	*Unruh	67.3	58.6
40	Los Angeles	Garcia	65.0	65.5
		60-65%		
59	Los Angeles	Sieroty	65.2	67.3
9	Yolo/Sacramento	Z'berg	63.7	54.0
20	San Francisco	Burton	63.3	67.3
32	Fresno	*Zenovich	63.3	71.7
19	San Francisco	McCarthy	62.7	64.6
15	Alameda	Fong	62.6	69.9
68	Los Angeles	Thomas	62.4	64.4
18	San Francisco	Brown	62.1	69.0
14	Alameda	Crown	62.0	67.4
23	San Francisco	Foran	62.0	58.3
51	Los Angeles	Fenton	61.8	68.1
38	Los Angeles	Porter	61.8	60.1
5	Napa/Solano	Dunlap	61.6	56.7
27	San Mateo	Ryan	61.7	100.0
56	Los Angeles	Warren	61.2	65.0
48	Los Angeles	Roberti	61.1	57.6
79	San Diego	Hom	61.1	51.8
8	Sacramento	Powers	61.0	62.8
45	Los Angeles	Karabian	60.6	52.3
67	Los Angeles	Townsend	60.6	54.4
72	San Bernardino	Quimby	60.6	58.3
33	Fresno/Madera	Mobley	60.3	67.7
1	See Footnote 1	Davis	60.2	61.1
13	Alameda	Bee	60.0	73.2
		55-60%		
42	Los Angeles	Moretti	59.9	65.5
25	Santa Clara	Crandall	59.1	51.0
50	Los Angeles	Campbell	58.9	56.4
30	Stanis./San Joaq.	Berryhill	58.8	50+
52	Los Angeles	Wakefield	58.2	55.2
66	Los Angeles	Gonsalves	57.4	62.8
44	Los Angeles	Cullen	57.3	55.3
21	Kings/Tulare	Duffy	57.3	71.5
11	Contra Costa	Knox	57.2	57.4
3	Sacramento	Greene, L.	57.1	52.8
28	Kern	Stacey	57.0	61.7
58	Los Angeles	Johnson H.	56.8	53.2
41	Los Angeles	Arklin	56.2	51.1
24	Santa Clara	Vasconcellos	56.1	63.9
12	San Joaquin	Monagan	55.8	71.1
6	See Footnote 2	Chappie	55.6	74.6
29	See Footnote 3	Ketchum	55.4	66.6
		50-55%		
10	Contra Costa	Dent	54.1	64.6
77	San Diego	Deddeh	54.0	66.0
31	Santa Cruz/Merced/S.B.	Murphy	53.7	75.4
2	See Footnote 4	Belotti	53.1	75.4
37	Ventura	MacDonald	51.8	51.0
75	Riverside/Imperial	*Veysey	51.1	71.1
4	See Footnote 5	Johnson, R.	51.1	67.0
34	Monterey	Wood	50.5	55.0
69	Orange	Cory	50.2	50.7
		45-50%		
16	Alameda	Mulford	49.7	55.8
74	Riverside	Biddle	49.3	61.4
64	Los Angeles	McGee	49.1	65.1
57	Los Angeles	Conrad	48.2	59.6
36	Sta. Bar./San Luis Ob.	MacGillivray	48.2	56.4
62	Los Angeles	Russell	47.9	73.7
39	Los Angeles	Hayes	47.4	77.0
76	San Diego	Wilson	47.1	71.7
7	Marin/Sonoma	Bagley	47.0	74.1
73	San Bernardino	Lewis	46.6	62.6
26	San Mateo	Britschgi	46.1	66.6
60	Los Angeles	Priolo	45.3	61.9
70	Orange	Burke	45.1	67.2
		30-45%		
35	Orange/San Bern.	Briggs	43.7	70.8
22	Santa Clara	*Millias	43.2	73.7
49	Los Angeles	Schabarum	42.9	72.4
46	Los Angeles	Beverly	41.3	75.5
78	San Diego	Barnes	41.0	66.3
43	Los Angeles	Moorhead	38.7	72.2
47	Los Angeles	Lanterman	37.2	71.4
80	San Diego	Stull	35.4	73.0
54	Los Angeles	Collier	32.9	76.6
71	Orange	Badham	31.9	76.6

*Incumbent not seeking reelection

1 Assembly District 1 covers Del Norte, part of Humboldt, Lassen, Modoc, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Tehama and Trinity Counties.
2 Assembly District 6 covers Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Inyo, Mariposa, Mono, Nevada, Placer, Tuolumne, and Yuba Counties.
3 Assembly District 29 covers part of Kern, Tulare, and San Luis Obispo Counties.
4 Assembly District 2 covers part of Humboldt, Mendocino, and Sonoma Counties.
5 Assembly District 4 covers Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Lake, Sutter, and part of Yolo Counties.

Another freshman, Republican Tom Hom of San Diego, elected in a 61 percent Democratic district, has several strong challengers in the opposite party. School administrator, Peter R. Chacon, space engineer George D. Koulaxes, Robert Kennedy delegate Marie Widman, and housewife Mary Farra are striving for their party's nod. All four Republican districts are considered vulnerable by assembly GOP leaders.

Two other assembly districts, strong in Democratic registration, but weak in support for Democratic candidates, are the 50th district, represented for two terms by Republican Assemblyman William Campbell, and the 52nd district, since 1966 held by Floyd Wakefield, rated the most conservative assemblyman by the California Republican Assembly. La Puente Councilman Joseph Montoya, endorsed by C.O.P.E., and insurance man Luis A. Ruiz, should fight it out to oppose Campbell. Huntington Park Councilman Martin I. Jackson, Harry Garo of Downey, and Larry L. Davis of Cudahy are lined up to challenge Wakefield. Jackson appears to have the best chance but, like Campbell, Wakefield appears quite strong.

In the 53rd district, Bill Greene has received the endorsement of all five fellow black legislators in his attempt to stave off Booker Griffin.

Republicans, optimistic about the chances for an upset in three suburban Democratic districts in southern Los Angeles County, have joined in strong Primary competition. Assemblyman Mike Cullen's 44th district seat is the objective of Woodrow Smith of Lakewood and Harold E. Perkins of Long Beach. Smith ran on a write-in ticket in 1968. In the 38th district, capitol vateran Carley Porter, a moderate-conservative Democrat will face the winner of the Republican primary clash between Earle Christo of Bellflower and C. Bob Corwin of Downey. American Independent Party candidates can play an important role in the politics of the area. Larry Townsend of Torrance, the Democratic incumbent in the 67th district, is again the target of Republicans Tom Tomlin of Lawndale and Fred Fredericks of Torrance. Fredericks beat Tomlin in June of 1968 and went on to give Townsend a scare.

Assemblyman Pat McGee, the only Republican filed in the 64th district, is ill and may have trouble campaigning for re-election. (See *California Journal*, March 1970, for additional coverage of close legislative primary races.)

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Statewide Races

Reagan-Unruh-Yorty Battle Royal

In every campaign, a candidate is likely to say several things he wishes he hadn't said. Sometimes his words are overlooked. Usually, even if noticed, they're soon forgotten, but occasionally they can change the direction of a campaign, taking on an importance all out of proportion to their original meaning. HUD Secretary George Romney, for example, is still said to wince when the word "brainwashed" is mentioned.

On April 8, speaking to the Council of California Growers at Yosemite National Park, Governor Ronald Reagan uttered two sentences that provided much of the fire and heat of the month's primary battle for Governor. Answering a question concerning the activities of campus militants, he said, "If it takes a blood bath, let's get it over with. No more appeasement." The reaction was quick and sustained.

Jess Unruh intoned "the Governor forfeited any right to hold public office." Sam Yorty said, more dryly, "sometimes the Governor gets emotional and gets carried away," and while other Democratic officials and candidates hurried to get their criticisms into print, the Governor's Press Secretary Paul Beck, attempting to excuse the remark, poured more fuel on the fire, commenting, "I don't think anyone in his right mind would say he wanted a blood bath." Later at his press conference the Governor called those continuing the criticism "neurotic" and added "a great many people have been slapping me on the back" in reaction to the expression.

The newly reorganized Unruh campaign (John Van de Kamp, former campaign director, is taking over responsibility for the speakers bureau and Phil Schott, former administrative assistant moved up to the campaign director slot) began to pick up steam as the candidate worked to further contrast his stance with that of the Governor. Unruh, citing a new lack of job security in government, expressed the belief that public employees have a right to bargain collectively and strike, unless the general public's health, welfare, or safety is threatened in the process. Reagan had told a state employee seminar several days earlier that state workers had no right to strike against the people or appeal to a higher authority than elected officials for mediation or arbitration.

The former Assembly Speaker also attacked the Governor's tax reform package as "easily the frankest soak-the-average-family document ever to emerge from the California Governor's Office." He also backed proposals to remove all legal restrictions on abortions, introduced legislation to limit political campaign media expenditures, and called for the creation of a State Environmental Quality Control Board with the power of approval over all state development, including freeways.

On the related issues of Proposition 7 and the pace of the state's water project, Unruh succeeded in bringing into rare alliance the *Los Angeles Times* and their mutual opponent Mayor Sam Yorty. Unruh, who has expressed "serious reservations" about Proposition 7 and opposes development of the peripheral canal in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, was accused of "looking for headlines" by the *Times*, while the Mayor suggested the project "should be speeded up," and chided conservationists in Northern California for taking a "provincial view" of the issues.

Yorty, campaigning up and down the state, has ranged over a wide variety of subjects, firing off barbs at both Reagan and Unruh in the process. The mayor criticized the Governor for not involving himself in the Los Angeles school strike and has accused Reagan of forgetting his promise to increase state support for local schools to 50%. Yorty is backing the school tax measure, Proposition 8.

At the same time that he argues "a vote for Jess Unruh is a vote for Ronald Reagan," a theme he used in the 1966 Democratic gubernatorial primary when his target was Governor Brown, he also spoke of the many Democrats who don't like Jess Unruh because they remember how as Speaker he "dealt viciously with Pat Brown." The L.A. chief executive has taken a strong law and order stand, while tempering his remarks about activist students by calling them "misguided" and "manipulated by subversives," in his appeal to the "moderate-progressive forces" that many agree seem to noticeably overlap with what President Richard Nixon has termed "the silent majority."

The Governor has rarely responded to any of the charges of either Yorty or Unruh. His campaign has recently concentrated on private luncheons with his friends in the business community. These have reportedly culminated in very successful fund raising events that have provided Reagan with campaign revenue that is the envy of the state treasury.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Keeping up a daily deluge of press releases and piling up an impressive list of endorsements, State Senate Alfred E. Alquist seems to have pulled into the lead for the Democratic nomination

Long Beach Superior Court Judge Robert Wenke has recently generated more enthusiasm, however, and with a Southern California base, may prove to be a tough competitor, particularly if his campaign manager, attorney Joe Ball, can raise the tremendous sum necessary to give his candidate vital media exposure in the final weeks

San Francisco investor Robert Coate has been unusually quiet thus far, but the politically experienced candidate is expected to put on a strong last minute effort to gain necessary name identification in vote-heavy Southern California.

Lt. Governor Ed Reinecke has continued his low key campaigning throughout the state, rarely speaking out on issues unrelated to his job, while he diligently pursues the task of getting his name and face before the public.

ATTORNEY GENERAL

The gloves finally came off in the contest for the Republican primary nomination to seek the job of retiring Attorney General Tom Lynch. State Senator George Deukmejian criticized the man generally conceded to be in the lead, Evelle Younger, on the grounds that the Los Angeles District Attorney has meager party credentials, is running for attorney general only to run for governor in 1974, is unwilling to recognize organized crime as a California problem, and failed to support Governor

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Reagan's merit plan for judicial selection when it was before the Legislature. Although the Long Beach senator's campaign chairman, Dr. Gaylord Parkinson of San Diego, originator of the 11th Commandment, said that the attack on Younger "set the record straight" and did not constitute breaking the Republican rule, it was evident that it had at least been severly strained.

Younger, although challenged to a debate by Deukmejian, has taken the traditional posture of a frontrunner and declined to provide his opponents with additional publicity by responding. He has been campaigning hard in the Bay Area and in San Diego to build upon his strong home base in Los Angeles. A poll taken in late February gave him 37 percent of the vote, Deukmejian 11, former Human Relations Secretary Spencer Williams 9, and State Senator John Harmer 4.

Chief Deputy Attorney General Charles O'Brien, running against token opposition in the Democratic column, has not left his post in the Department of Justice and has been only an occasional campaigner.

SECRETARY OF STATE

No more diverse Democrats could be found under the broad party tent than Edmund G. Brown, Jr. and Hugh M. Burns, competing for the job of Secretary of State. Brown has made clear his intention to be a bane to Sacramento lobbyists, a group he accuses of spending half the $20 million to be expended on campaigns in California in 1970. Although he confesses his "father made the suggestion that if I continue attacking lobbyists, I might not have any contributions from them," he intends to continue to lambast Burns as the candidate of the special interests. He claims the former Senate President pro Tempore's election would be "like letting the fox guard the chicken coop."

To this point, the experienced Burns has been silent, but few expect him to remain on the sidelines for long. He is thought to be capable of running an extremely well-financed effort if he so desires, thus creating perhaps the clearest choice between philosophy, age, and approach anywhere on the ballot.

Republican Party centrists are standing behind Assemblyman George Milias of Gilroy. Even though a prestigious group of fellow legislators and political leaders headed by former Governor Goodwin J. Knight appear on his campaign committee, Milias' victory is not a cinch. Party conservatives condemn him for his liberal voting record, and Mrs. Alberta Jordan may turn out to be a strong candidate to replace her late husband. Compton businessman Wendell T. Handy, who successfully bested L.A. School Board member J.C. Chambers and Attorney James L. Flournoy to win the CRA endorsement, may lead the right wing cause.

CONTROLLER/TREASURER

Los Angeles Attorney Herman Sillas, armed with the endorsement of Jess Unruh, Pat Brown, Alan Cranston, Democratic National Committeeman Stephen Reinhardt and L.A. Councilman Tom Bradley, has seized the lead in the Democratic primary for State Controller.

Early favorite Ronald Brooks Cameron and Orange County attorney John R. Dean will be hard pressed to raise sufficient funds to make the statewide impact necessary to overcome the organized party's support for Sillas. Although Houston Flournoy, the incumbent Republican, is not loved by his party's conservative wing, he will have no problem in gaining renomination.

Although Milton Gordon will not have a ballot designation reading Chief Administrative Treasurer and instead will be known as Administrative Officer-Treasurer thanks to a successful court challenge by his opponent, Torrance City Treasurer Thomas C. Rupert, Gordon is expected to dispose of Rupert and attorney Joe Reichmann, who has twice lost state Senate races to Senator Robert Stevens, and meet Treasurer Ivy Baker Priest in November.

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Two Democrats, Wilson Riles and Julian Nava, have emerged as strong challengers to Max Rafferty, now completing his second term in the non-partisan position at the head of California's Department of Education.

Riles, who has worked for the State Department of Education for 12 years, has been using his contacts from years of work in California's education establishment to develop a strong list of local citizen endorsements in counties around the state. He appears to enjoy a slight lead over Nava at this time, his greatest strength coming from northern California.

Nava, a college professor and L.A. School Board member, has been active politically in Los Angeles County and is working hard to solidify his strength in Southern California where he hopes to gain enough votes to carry him into a November runoff with incumbent Rafferty.

Rafferty has yet to begin to campaign in earnest but many expect him to put on a last minute burst of effort in an attempt to win 50 percent of the vote in June to obviate a November runoff which would allow his relatively unknown opponents to develop a sharper public profile.

U.S. SENATOR

"Norton Simon — A capitalist for the U.S. Senate", the ads read and there have been many of them — and there will be more on radio, television, billboards and in the newspapers before Tuesday, June 2. The Fullerton industrialist and art patron seems destined to spend perhaps a million dollars in his quest for the Republican nomination to the U.S. Senate seat which still seems safely in the grip of incumbent George Murphy.

Simon has concentrated on issues involving campus unrest, using his position as a U.C. Regent as a forum. Although he termed the Governor's "blood bath" remark "very unfortunate," Simon has not been a "dove" on the question of university violence. He called for a doubling of the number of campus policemen on the nine University campuses.

Senator Murphy, known to have a hefty campaign treasury himself, seems undaunted by all the flap caused by his opponent, and although Simon has attempted to portray himself as the man closest to the President in philosophy, Nixon is publicly backing Murphy.

Democratic hopefuls Congressmen Tunney and Brown appear to be running very close together with Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, considered an unknown quantity with plenty of potential.

Brown, Tunney and Hahn have been campaigning hard up and down the state, attacking Murphy and the administration on channel drilling, foreign policy, conflict-of-interest, the nomination of Judge G. Harrold Carswell, ABM, and a multitude of other issues. All the candidates have regularly sprinkled their talks and releases with attacks on campus radicals. Tunney has warned that violence "leads to repression" and has taken to task Yippie leader Jerry Rubin. Hahn, probably the most conservative of the three, has shown a proclivity for strong law and order stands as well.

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Journal Questionnaire

Rafferty, Riles and Nava

Last month California Journal *sent Max Rafferty, Julian Nava and Wilson Riles, the three leading candidates for Superintendent of Public Instruction, a set of questions covering a number of the principal issues affecting public education in California. The questions and the candidates' replies (edited to fit these pages) were as follows:*

1. What in your view are the principal strengths and weaknesses of public education in California in 1970?

Rafferty: The principal strengths in California public education are as follows: the best school books in the nation; rapidly-rising reading test scores in the three grades where reading is taught for the first time; the best statewide equalization programs of state finance in the United States; the best-trained and educated teachers in the world; newly-adopted state moral guidelines for classroom use; a newly-organized and streamlined State Department of Education; and a State Board of Education which is increasingly furnishing service, research and leadership to local school districts.

Nava: The principal strengths of our educational system are the teachers who are still dedicated to the teaching of California's five million school children. The principal weaknesses are Governor Ronald Reagan and the incumbent Superintendent, Max Rafferty. Rafferty, through his mismanagement and bureaucratic Department of Education, has failed or refused to become a leading spokesman for education.

Riles: The strength of California's public education system is its all-inclusiveness. We have some provisions for preschool, vocational education, special education for the handicapped, compensatory education for the poor, to cite examples. But our weakness is in the delivery system. Our goal must be to combine mass education with quality education.

2. There are indications that public confidence in the public schools is at a low ebb. What do you think are the causes of this loss of confidence and what, if anything, can the Superintendent do to restore confidence?

Nava: The teachers, as well as the public, have lost faith in the Department of Education and its leader. Until we have a Superintendent who can win the public's respect, confidence in our educational system will continue to decline.

Riles: The public frustration that we have witnessed in the past few years is a symbol of a growing feeling of isolation between schools and the communities they serve. There is concern about the poor achievement of our children. In the past few years public confidence has been shattered by divisiveness — we have seen group pitted against group, teachers against administrators, parents against their children. The Superintendent of Public Instruction is in a unique position to bring together the best minds and resources to insure excellence in the schools. He can unite rather than divide.

Rafferty: Public confidence in the public schools will rise rapidly when it becomes widely known through our statewide compulsory testing program that competence in reading is improving due to the increasingly widespread use of the phonics method of instruction. In the past it has been the fear that progressive education was destroying the schools' ability to teach the children organized, systematic and disciplined subject matter.

3. Can you identify specific objectives which should be established for the public schools to be achieved within the next 5-10 years?

Riles: We should develop a Master Plan for Early Education so that our school programs emphasize prevention, rather than remediation. Every child has the right to learn to read, to compute, to develop the ability to think and be creative, at an early age. We must establish accountability in public education. The public has a right to hold educators accountable for each child's progress.

We must modernize our teacher preparation programs to place more emphasis on classroom training where the teacher candidate can learn to work with children.

We must also develop a comprehensive information program to cope with the drug abuse problem. The schools should play a major role, working with parents, the community and other public agencies, in solving this problem. And we must involve our students more as active participants in their own education.

Rafferty: Within the next ten years the public schools should strive toward the following goals: fifty-fifty state and local school district partnership in financing public education; continued voluntary unification of school districts until no more than 750 independent districts exist in the state; a rise in the statewide testing scores until California reaches or extends the mythical national norms; and a continued stress toward local control of public education and the setting up of autonomous areas within great city school districts where parents would become increasingly involved in the curriculum and the instructional programs of the local schools.

Nava: We have to understand that we are in a social revolution transition period and should try to adopt the newer sciences and technology to our educational programs. At the primary and secondary levels one basic

"There is no excuse for letting financial support, such as in Los Angeles, nose dive from 50 percent to 28 percent and then wonder why teachers are in revolt over the quality of education." — Julian Nava

objective would be to advance the curriculum to meet the increasing abilities of our young to comprehend more information. In the next ten years we should also be thinking in terms of new construction ideas for the classroom of the future — realizing that the total environment plays an important role in the learning process.

4. To what extent has integration of the public schools been achieved in California; Is this still an important objective and, if so, what steps sould be taken to accomplish it?

Rafferty: Integration is much farther along in California schools than it was in 1960. Such significant school districts as Oakland and Riverside, to name but two, have virtually completed this process. Racial minority teachers, many of whom were unable to get jobs in 1960, now find themselves in increasing demand.

Nava: Integration has been achieved in California only to

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a token extent. It's my feeling that the state, in compliance with the law of the land, should move to adopt racial guidelines for California's many school districts and help effect the change-over to an integrated status. We should realize that *de facto* segregation and *de jure* segregation have the same end result: separation of the races.

Riles: The degree of public school integration in California varies among school districts. I think most school districts and parents recognize the need to prepare our children to work together in the heterogeneous world they

> *"Parents should be able to go to their local school and get straight answers on how their children are doing. And as Superintendent of Public Instruction, I will report regularly to the people of California on the state of education in this state."* — *Wilson Riles*

will find themselves in as adults. But how this is done is a decision to be made by each community for itself. The Superintendent of Public Instruction cannot and should not attempt to force busing or any other single approach on a community.

5. In what ways can the financial base of our public schools be strengthened?

Nava: We must take a hard look at the exemptions of vested interests such as oil, gas, public utilities and insurance. It's about time that we charged the "sacred cows" as much in the way of taxes as we do our hard working citizens.

Riles: If we are to improve our schools, it is imperative that we solve the financial crisis that threatens the quality of California education. The local property taxpayers cannot continue to carry the burden of paying for the schools. The state must again assume at least 50 percent of school costs. The quality of every child's education should not depend on where he lives. Thus we must go to a broader tax base — take the money where we find it — and put it where the children are.

Rafferty: The financial base of our public schools can be strengthened only through increased state participation in the process of financing local education.

6. What, if anything, should the state be doing to permit or encourage the reorganization of school districts for more effective administration and greater responsiveness to community needs?

Riles: The question is not the size of a school district but its flexibility. Within a school district, there should be flexibility to enable each individual school to develop creative programs that meet the needs of the children attending the school. Education does not happen in a downtown bureaucracy, but at each school.

Rafferty: The state should provide increased financial incentive to make desirable further voluntary unifications of small school districts which up until this time have not received the advantage of unifying. In addition, the state should experiment with proposals similar to last year's Ralph bill, which I supported, and which would have permitted setting up local parent councils in certain carefully-selected areas of Los Angeles.

Nava: What we have in California today is a system of perhaps 1,000 individual school districts. Some are extremely small in size, while others, such as Los Angeles, are huge — to the point of being a handicap. I believe the Department of Education should undertake a comprehensive study to determine what is the most effective size for a school district, financially as well as educationally. While reducing the number of school districts to say, 300, would have the effect of making it less responsive to the needs of the community, it might prove to be economically and administratively more feasible to operate. It is a question which should be determined by the voters of each school district.

7. What are the principal causes of rising militancy among teachers and how should the state respond?

Rafferty: Militancy among teachers is largely caused by the inability of local school districts to meet educational needs because of lack of money.

Nava: The teachers, more than anyone, have watched the quality of education tumble. The state knows how it should respond. It should raise the level of financial support to local schools.

Riles: Teachers see daily the problems of our schools. They know they are not receiving adequate resources to do their job. They do not feel that their professional voice is being heard. They want a greater role in planning educational programs. The state's response to rising militancy among teachers should be to attack the root of the problem, rather than to operate from crisis to crisis.

8. What responsibility do the public schools have for the moral development of school-age children?

Nava: I believe that parents have the prime responsibility for moral development of their youngsters.

Riles: The schools cannot and should not attempt to replace the home and church in the moral development of our children. However, children spend a good part of their daily lives in school, and the schools have a large influence on their over-all development.

Rafferty: California has recently adopted two sets of moral guidelines for school-age children. When these are

> *"California educational weaknesses include inadequate state financial participation in the support of local school districts and a distressing tendency on the part of some of our big city school teachers to use the improper weapons of strikes and boycotts to achieve their objectives."* — *Max Rafferty.*

placed in the schools in the form of recommended lesson plans and courses of study, the schools should then implement them on a classroom level.

9. What is your opinion as to the merits of the proposed "voucher system" of payments for school support?

Riles: I believe there should always be room for the exploration of new ideas on a limited, experimental basis. But we must recognize the complex problems inherent in the implementation of a voucher system — a large scale accreditation program would have to be established, parents must have the information necessary to make an intelligent choice of schools, and we must guard against the danger that a voucher system might compound rather than decrease the gap of educational services available to the rich and poor. I think we might achieve more by concentrating our energies and resources on improving our public schools so that every school offers a top-flight education.

Rafferty: I am opposed to the proposed "voucher" system because of its cumbersome administrative problems. I support instead a program of income tax rebates and refunds for parents who send their children to private and parochial schools.

Nava: I am against it. It is another way of perpetuating segregated schools.

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Sacramento Poll

Unruh-Reagan Closer Now Than Brown-Reagan in Nov. '66

by Gary L. Wilhelm

A recent poll taken in Sacramento shows Jess Unruh leading Ronald Reagan for Governor.[1] Based on expectations of how they intend to vote in November, 49% of the voters interviewed said they would vote for Unruh, 43% indicated they would vote for Reagan, and 8% were undecided.

It should be noted, however, that Sacramento County is a Democratic stronghold. Democratic registration in Sacramento is about 61%, compared to a statewide Democratic registration of approximately 55%. In recent years in Sacramento County, the Democratic candidates in major statewide contests have run approximately seven percentage points ahead of their statewide percentage of the vote. Projecting the Sacramento poll results onto the statewide scene, and with the 7% compensative factor included, the Reagan-Unruh standings are: Reagan, 50%; Unruh, 42%; undecided, 8%.

In Sacramento County, the undecided are basically Democratic in preference. As a group, they are more Democratic than county voters as a whole. They also have a strongly negative rating of Reagan as Governor — 89% give Reagan a negative rating compared to 95% of the Unruh voters and 22% of the Reagan voters. A similar proportion gives Reagan a negative rating for his handling of campus disturbances — 79% give him a negative rating on this matter, compared to 89% of the Unruh voters and 33% of the Reagan voters. Based on this and other data, one may expect a large proportion of these presently undecided voters to vote for Unruh in November.

Dr. Wilhelm is Assistant Professor of Government at Sacramento State College. He has conducted survey research in Sacramento for over five years in connection with his course in public opinion research.

The Sacramento poll indicates that Unruh should win the Democratic nomination for Governor easily. Of the registered Democrats, 66% indicated that they would vote for Unruh, while 12% said they would vote for Yorty, and 4% for someone else; 18% were undecided. In Sacramento County in 1966, Yorty polled 34% of the vote in the primary to Brown's 53%.

In other state contests, the poll indicates that most voters remain undecided. In the Democratic contest for U.S. Senator, 62% of those polled were undecided at the time of the poll. Only 16% indicated they favored George Brown, Jr., while 18% favored John Tunney. In the Republican contest for State Attorney General, 64% of the registered Republicans were undecided. Of those who had decided, George Deukmejian was preferred by 14%, Spencer Williams by 10%, Evelle Younger by 11%, and John Harmer by 1%. In the race for Superintendent of Public Instruction, 32% of the registered voters favored Max Rafferty, 17% favored Wilson Riles, with 7% split among Duane Cannon, Willard Harper, and Julian Nava.

1 The poll was a random sample of 397 adults living in the urban portion of Sacramento County. Interviews were conducted during the period March 20 to April 10.

Constitional Revision Measure on June Ballot

In 1968, the voters of California rejected by a 4 to 3 margin Proposition 1, the second-phase package of recommendations for constitutional reform of the California Constitution Revision Commission. In June, the voters will be faced with essentially the same proposal divided, this time, into four separate propositions, Propositions 2 through 5.

Despite the endorsement of the League of California Cities, County Supervisors' Association, and the State Chamber of Commerce, Proposition 1 lost by 800,000 votes; 700,000 of these votes from Los Angeles County. It is acknowledged that this was largely the result of an editorial by the *Los Angeles Times* in which the *Times*, though in agreement with most of the content of the proposition, felt that the voters should be given a chance to decide on the individual elements of the Commission's recommendations rather than be forced to vote on the package as a whole.

Propositions 2 thorugh 5 differ from Proposition 1 only in that Article IX (Education) is not included and the 1968 proposition made the entire staff of the Legislative Counsel civil service exempt, while the 1970 version exempts only one additional position.

Summary of Propositions

Proposition 2 revises Article XI relating to local government which, as it now stands, is longer than the entire United States Constitution. In addition to shortening the article, minor changes include the requirement that boards of supervisors be elected (appointment is still allowed by the Constitution), the provision that new county offices may be created without legislative approval, and the requirement for voter approval of county consolidation or for creation of new counties.

Proposition 3 was revised to delete unnecessary language dealing with corporations, the substance of which already exists as federal or state law, or is obsolete. Proposition 3 provides that the Public Utilities Commission may have more than five members, defines public utilities, designates the jurisdiction of the Public Utilities Commission and defines the PUC's authority to regulate public utilities.

Proposition 4 deletes most of Article X relating to state institutions. Those matters recommended for deletion are already covered by the Legislature. The provision prohibiting convict labor is transferred to Article XX. Article XVII concerning homesteads, land use and settlers is deleted, since there is no longer any state land available for grants to settlers.

Proposition 5 restates the laws in the present Article XXIV regarding the State civil service system and the State Personnel Board. This proposition also extends exemptions from civil service that exist for the Governor's office to the office of the Lieutenant Governor. Major provisions would allow the Legislature to withdraw or amend an amendment to the Constitution which has passed both Houses by a two-thirds majority before submission to the voters.

Propositions 7 and 8

For detailed coverage of Proposition 7 increasing the constitutionally established bond interest ceiling and Proposition 8, an initiative measure which would result in a major tax restructuring and a reduction in property taxes, see *California Journal*, March 1970, pages 68-71.

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Proposition 1: Medical Facilities Bonds

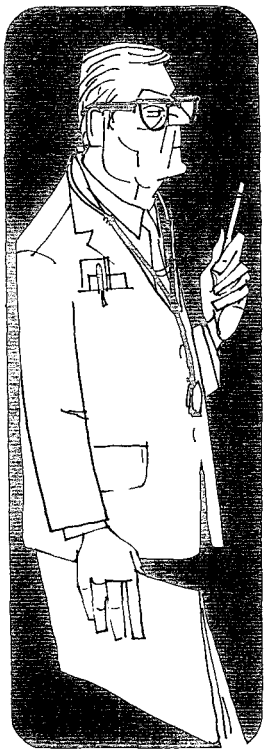
"Healthy 1" its proponents call it. A $246 million "bargain" in the words of its chief legislative sponsor, Assembly Speaker Bob Monagan. According to the president of the California Medical Association, "If Californians want medical care available for themselves and their families in the 1970's and beyond, they must vote yes on Proposition 1 — it's as simple as that."

If it were really as simple as all that, the California voters might be expected to give Proposition 1 an overwhelming vote of approval June 2. But Californians have been known to exercise some independent judgment about what is a bargain and what is essential for their future well-being. At this time the probable public response is impossible to predict.

If approved by the voters, Proposition 1 will authorize the issuance and sale of up to $246,300,000 in state bonds to finance the construction of medical training and research facilities for the University of California. The federal government is expected to contribute an additional $126.6 million so that there will be a total of $372.9 million to be spent over the period 1970-1978.

Five UC Medical Schools

According to present plans, the combined funds will be spent for the expansion of University programs in medicine, dentistry, nursing, optometry, pharmacy, public health, veterinary medicine and related health science fields. The major elements of the construction program include expenditure of $153.6 million for completion of the three new medical schools at Davis, Irvine and San Diego; $27.4 million for the expansion of the UC medical school at San Francisco; $22.2 million for expansion of the School of Veterinary Medicine at Davis; $13.7 million for the expansion of the dentistry school at San Francisco; $6.6 million for expansion of the UCLA medical school; and $6.9 million for expansion of the School of Public Health at Berkeley. The specific scope and timing of each project will be subject to review and approval by the Legislature.



One point of all this expenditure, of course, is to expand the supply of doctors, dentists, nurses, pharmacists, public health personnel and veterinarians. California now has about 33,000 doctors in active practice, or about 167 per 100,000 population. To maintain this ratio, the state will need 40,300 doctors by 1980 when, according to the latest forecasts, the state's population is expected to reach 24.2 million. The state will also need some 2,300 additional dentists and 12,800 additional nurses to maintain existing ratios in those fields. On top of this need, there appears to be a continuing increase in the health care demands of the people of this state.

At present the output of California's medical, dental and nursing schools is barely matching natural attrition. Maintenance of health care ratios has been dependent upon a heavy immigration from other states and other countries. Approximately 70 percent of doctors practicing in California were trained in other states, as were 75 percent of newly-licensed nurses.

However, it is also true, according to recent CMA reports, that the rate of physicians to population has been improving steadily in recent years, despite rapid population growth. As a result, California ranks among the top few states by this measure. Moreover, the state's population growth is slowing markedly;

Proposition 6 Permits Plural Textbook Adoption

Proposition 6 concerns textbook adoption. Section 7, Article IX of the California Constitution now requires the State Board of Education to adopt a "uniform series" of textbooks for free distribution to "all children attending the day and evening elementary schools of the state . . ." This has been interpreted as requiring a single adoption system; that is, provision of one basic textbook for all students throughout the state at each grade or ability level. More than one textbook may be adopted for each subject and grade level, but only if the board then specifies the students who are to receive the additional books and the ratios according to which the books are to be distributed.

Multiple Adoption

Proposition 6 provides for the deletion of the existing constitutional wording regarding textbooks and substitution of the simple statement that the state board "shall adopt textbooks for use in grades one through eight throughout the state, to be furnished without cost . . ." This opens the way for a "multiple adoption" system which has been established by statute (SB 225, 1969) contingent upon approval of Proposition 6.

The new multiple adoption system provides for selection of one to two basic texts for each subject and grade level, except when the board identifies special needs related to language problems, cultural differences, or multiple learning levels. In these cases up to four basic texts may be adopted in each subject. The school districts may then select the adopted books which they need subject to the limit of one basic textbook per pupil for each subject. The system of multiple adoption of supplementary textbooks which was established by the Legislature in 1968 remains unchanged.

The state now spends an average of approximately $20 million each year providing free textbooks for elementary school pupils. The proposed new multiple adoption system for basic texts is expected to result in somewhat higher printing costs for the state, but this is likely to be offset by a reduction in cost to local districts. Many districts now refuse to use the single state adopted text and instead purchase others at their own cost. Multiple adoption is expected to reduce this practice substantially as well as generally provide for a better matching of books and children throughout the state.

Opposition

Opposition to Proposition 6 is largely based upon the belief that it does not go far enough in permitting local control over the selection of instructional materials for the

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According to an analysis prepared by the Legislative Analyst, the total cost of the bonds will be approximately $505.3 million for principal and interest, assuming that the $246.3 million bond issue will mature in 25 years and will be sold at an average interest rate of seven percent. On June 30, 1969 the state's existing general obligation debt was $4. billion, or $240.17 per capita. Sale of these bonds will add $12.22 per capita to existing debt.

Under the terms of AB 355, which was passed early in this session of the Legislature, these bonds will be covered by the provisions of Proposition 7 (*California Journal*, March 1970, pages 68-69) which increases the maximum

PROPOSED FUNDING FOR UC HEALTH SCIENCE PROGRAMS (Millions)

	Prop 1. Bonds	Estimated Federal Funds	Total Funds
Medical Schools	$187.6	$ 90.5	$278.1
Dentistry Schools	15.3	11.2	26.5
Pharmacy	1.2	1.0	2.2
Optometry	2.0	1.7	3.7
Nursing	0.3	—	0.3
Public Health	6.9	5.4	12.3
Veterinary Medicine	22.4	16.0	38.4
Human Biology	2.8	.6	3.4
Service Facilities	7.8	.2	8.0
	$246.3	$126.6	$372.9

interest rates on general obligation bonds from five to seven percent. Thus, the new bonds will be marketable, although there will still be a question as to their priority in relation to the current balance of $1.3 billion in unsold state general obligation bonds.

Opposition

The legislation which placed the bond issue on the June ballot was approved with only four dissenting votes in the Senate and none in the Assembly. The chief objection to the proposal, according to State Senator H.L. Richardson who wrote the opposing ballot argument, is that such construction should be financed on a pay-as-you-go basis rather than by borrowing.

To date there has been little public questioning of the fact that this proposal represents a very conventional solution to the problem of health care staffing — a problem that has so far eluded conventional solutions. Nor has there been public questioning of the University as to why it should find itself suddenly attempting to build three new medical schools which not only demand massive dollar expenditures but which at the outset will also cause a net drain on professional health service personnel available to the public.

The separate presentation of a bond proposal for medical training facilities, not necessarily the highest priority item on University construction planning, represents a careful judgment by University officials that this is the only type of higher education bond issue which now stands a chance. They are nevertheless fearful that public antipathy toward the University may extend even to this area. For this reason the University itself is attempting to maintain a "low profile" in the campaign for Proposition 1.

Attorney General Candidates Speak Out on the Issues:

1. As Attorney General, what action would you take to deal with the problem of narcotic and dangerous drug usage by young people?

All the candidates placed equal emphasis on education as well as enforcement. Deukmejian would "stress the use of the talents and communication abilities of those young people who have tried and rejected drugs." Both Younger and Williams would reorganize and modernize the Bureau of Narcotics enforcement to provide help to local law enforcement and to stop major drug suppliers. Both emphasize the problem of illicit drug importation. Williams would seek "a relaxation of the rules of search and seizure" as they apply to drug offenders. O'Brien cautioned, "to treat this solely as a youth problem ignores the mother who pops tranquilizers and the father who drinks martinis so they can talk to their children about drugs."

2. What role would you have the Attorney General play in regard to consumer problems?

Democrat O'Brien claimed that the Attorney General's office, in which he is second in command, "has been a pioneer in this field since 1960" and said his office has had cooperation from many district attorneys, with the "notable exception" of Los Angeles County. Deukmejian, however, was critical of the current administration of the Department of Justice for allocating "only six attorneys and three investigators to handle hundreds of thousands of consumer complaints." "Sophisticated bunco operators, whose schemes are beyond the investigative capacity of smaller counties" would get special attention from Williams. Younger also emphasized his concern for statewide fraud problems, leaving local D.A.'s with the job of investigating criminal laws. He would also continue the practice of developing and advocating necessary legislation in the consumer area.

3. Do you support wire tapping and, if so, under what circumstances?

All the candidates approved of electronic surveillance with prior court approval. O'Brien listed cases involving national security, organized crime and kidnapping as appropriate examples. Younger and Williams support wire tapping whenever such evidence as is required for the issuance of a search warrant is presented. The provisions of SB 185 (see page 122) would satisfy Deukmejian, who is a co-author of the measure.

4. What is your opinion of the effectiveness of the correctional system in California?

Deukmejian believes the prisons are "not doing the job" and maintains that "statistics bear out the fact that the hard core of the crime problem is the repeat offender." O'Brien agrees, saying, "Our correctional system is a failure since it neither corrects nor rehabilitates in any proportion to the amount of money which it costs the people of California." Williams, who was responsible for the state correctional programs while a cabinet secretary, says "California has one of the most effective correctional systems in the United States", and Younger calls it "probably the most modern of any in the country."

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The Attorney General's job, which served as a stepping stone to the Governorship for Earl Warren and Pat Brown, continues to be a highly coveted position in the state's political hierarchy. Five lawyers, four Republicans and a Democrat, are currently competing for the post which is being vacated by the incumbent, Thomas C. Lynch. California Journal *asked each of the five leading candidates to give his view on the major issues in the campaign. Four — Democratic Deputy Attorney General Charles A. O'Brien, and Republican State Senator George Deukmejian, Human Relations Secretary Spencer Williams, and Los Angeles County District Attorney Evelle Younger — responded with detailed answers to our questions. State Senator John L. Harmer did not reply.*
reply.

Both, however, believe that the correctional system is not good enough. Younger sees a "lack of facilities and financial resources leading to premature release of non-rehabilitated prisoners." Williams calls for "a single unified state prison system," with additional aid to county systems and new state programs to reduce the rate of recidivism. Deukmejian would emphasize "remedial academic and vocational education, additional prisoner counseling, work furlough programs, and half-way houses to ease the transition to society." He adds, "the public is going to have to decide whether they are willing to commit the necessary resources, both human and financial, to provide a correctional system which actually corrects, rather than 'warehouses' violators of the law." O'Brien calls for a shift in priorities, saying, "we must put less money into locking people up and more money into research and rehabilitation for a fiscally and socially sound correctional system."

5. What is your view of "preventive detention" as a deterrent to crime?

Deukmejian states that he is "opposed to the concept of 'preventive detention' because it could place in jeopardy perhaps the most fundamental concept embodied in our law, i.e., a person is innocent until proven guilty." However, the Long Beach attorney has introduced legislation to prohibit the practice of imposing concurrent sentences for those who commit felonies while free on bail.

Williams, who supports preventive detention "to the extent constitutionally permissible" when applied to those likely to commit violent crimes or sell narcotics, would also expand releases on one's own recognizance after arraignment when there is little likelihood of the accused failing to appear in court for trial.

"The entire system of pre-trial release must be overhauled," according to District Attorney Younger. He would release a defendant "without reliance on money bail" when he poses no threat to the public but believes the court should be able to refuse, condition, or revoke release when the public would be endangered.

"We now have preventive detention in California," O'Brien maintains. "We need prosecutors with guts who will request that a judge hold dangerous criminals without bail."

6. Is organized crime a problem in California? If so, what is its magnitude and how would you deal with it?

"Syndicated crime does not exist in California to a significant extent," said Evelle Younger, "but there is every indication that it is making strenuous efforts to gain a foothold," he adds, calling for multiple-agency cooperation to stop it. O'Brien believes "California is cleaner by far than any other populous state in the nation." He says he intends to keep the state that way with the help of the two-year-old Organized Crime Unit in the Attorney General's Office.

Williams and Deukmejian, the two candidates not currently holding law enforcement positions, believe that organized crime is present. Both are concerned about its infiltration into legitimate business (e.g., the *California Journal*). Deukmejian would step up prosecutions "in every possible instance", while Williams recommends "turning the spotlight of publicity on the Mafia and modification of the legal process so that informants could testify in secret and remain anonymous."

7. How can the Attorney General help improve or preserve the quality of California's environment?

To prevent destruction of the environment, "every remedy provided by law should be pursued, including criminal actions, suits for damages and injunctive relief," said Evelle Younger. He and Deukmejian would organize a special environmental protection unit in the Attorney General's Office to deal exclusively with the problem.

O'Brien stands on the incumbent's record of law-suits introduced in the environmental field during the last decade against offending businesses and local governments. He credits his office for pushing for the stiff new fines of $6,000 per day for water pollution violations. Williams would work through local government "which has a primary responsibility in this area" and would ask government to help industry finance the installation of anti-pollution devices.

8. Under what circumstances do you support the death penalty? Would you make it mandatory in some cases?

Each candidate supports the death penalty. O'Brien does "if its administration is swift and certain," only in the case of "political assassination, hired killings of private citizens and killings of peace officers and prison guards," maintaining that the courts will not administer it in other areas anyway. None would favor a mandatory death sentence for any crime, leaving that decision in each case to the judge and jury.

9. What changes, if any, would you propose be made in California's anti-obscenity laws?

Candidates Williams and O'Brien stress the need to enforce the newest anti-obscenity laws which follow the U.S. Supreme Court guidelines and are aimed at sales of juveniles before pushing for further legislation. O'Brien, who was involved in drafting this legislation, says he is now directing prosecutions under them. Williams hopes to further involve federal postal officials in aggressive enforcement of their regulations against pornography.

Both Deukmejian and Younger would interpret the term "local community standards" as applying to local judicial districts, rather than as a statewide or national standard, so that a local jury could impose its own views. Both would allow trial court juries to decide on the issue rather than allowing questions of fact in pre-trial hearings, Deukmejian would thus have the appellate courts rule only on the procedures used in the trial and whether the decision was reached in a just and legal manner. Younger believes localities should have the right to prohibit offensive public displays as well.

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Water Pollution Bans Are Eased

Last month's crackdown by the State Water Resources Control Board on new connections to sewage flows brought an anguished response from affected Bay Area communities. The action marked the first time the State Board stepped directly into the enforcement field overriding the jurisdiction of the Bay Regional Water Quality Control Board.

San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto led a charge by five local government agencies to set aside the orders which brought to a halt major construction underway in San Francisco as well as other Bay Area communities. At a hearing by the regional board, which was operating under new guidelines set down by the parent board, Mayor Alioto made a vigorous five-hour appeal to seek exemptions from the ban on sewer connections to permit $87 million in construction to continue.

The regional board granted the mayor's plea as to $34 million worth of publicly-connected projects on the grounds that the San Francisco projects came under the provisions of the state guidelines permitting the local board to reconsider cease and desist orders when they cause "extreme public or private hardship or extreme social impact." Alioto argued that the building ban would increase racial tension in the city by denying work to the poor and minority citizens, disrupt a low income housing program, and plunge the city "into the depths of a major recession." He promised the city would speed up existing projects which could have a substantial impact on the city's effluent.

Even though San Francisco was successful in seeking modifications of the initial ban on all new connections to permit publicly-connected construction, the city (along with the dischargers in the cases of San Carlos, Redwood City, Milpitas, and San Pablo) brought a court action against the state to get the partial lifting extended to cover all building.

Date	*Violator*	*Action Taken*
NORTH COAST REGION		
3/ 4/70	City of Santa Rosa Sewage Plant	Cease and Desist Order, and prohibition of new connections
3/ 4/70	Humboldt County: three county sanitation districts	Cease and Desist Order, and prohibition of new connections.
SAN FRANCISCO REGION		
*3/26/70	City and County of San Francisco North Point Sewage Treatment	Cease and Desist Order, and prohibition of new connections.
3/26/70	City and County of San Francisco International Airport.	Cease and Desist Order, and prohibition of new connections.
3/26/70	Contra Costa Sanitation District No. 3	Cease and Desist Order, and prohibition of new connections.
3/26/70	San Pablo Sanitary District	Cease and Desist Order, and prohibition of new connections.
CENTRAL COAST REGION		
1/23/70	Atascadero Garbage Disposal District	Ordered closed.
2/13/70	Seaside County Sanitation District, City of Pacific Grove, U.S. Military Reservation at Fort Ord	Amended existing Cease and Desist Order to include prohibition of new connections. (Three separate actions) Cases have been referred to Attorney General.
LOS ANGELES REGION		
1/ 4/70	Simi Valley Sanitation Co.	Cease and Desist Order, and prohibition of new connections.
CENTRAL VALLEY REGION		
4/21/70	City of Stockton, Main Water Quality Control Plant	Cease and Desist Order, including restriction on further industrial waste connections to its sewerage system excluding industries having only normal domestic waste discharges.
SANTA ANA REGION		
3/20/70	Sunset Beach Sanitary Dist.	Case referred to Attorney General.
SAN DIEGO REGION		
2/10/70	Alpine Sanitation District	Cease and Desist Order, and prohibition of new connections.
2/24/70	Ramona Sanitation District	Cease and Desist Order, and prohibition of new connections.
3/31/70	City of Oceanside	Cease and Desist Order, and prohibition (if bond issue does not pass) of new connections.

*Modifications on this order made at Regional Board meetings of April 7 and April 23, 1970.

Department of Aeronautics

Control of "noise pollution" stemming from airports and aircraft operating in California will be regulated by new standards proposed by the Department of Aeronautics. The regulations are the first of their type in the nation and result from urgency legislation authored by Assemblyman John Foran in 1969.

In releasing the proposed standards Governor Ronald Reagan indicated that they are examples of "how government and the private sector can work together to make California a better place to live. For the first time Californians living in the vicinity of airports who are subjected daily to the noise of airport operations will have a specific means of determining actual violations of the law." When the regulations become effective (the date specified in the law is January 1, 1971), violations will become misdemeanors carrying a $1,000 fine levied against the aircraft operator.

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Selected State Government Reports

Parole Revocation Procedure. Report by Assembly Interim Committee on Criminal Procedure. March 1970, 10 pages. Background, alternatives to present procedure and recommendations for revisions.

Statewide Public Defender's Office. Report by Assembly Interim Committee on Criminal Procedure. March 1970, 16 pages. Background and recommendations for creation of a statewide public defender's office.

EDUCATION

Report of First Year of College Opportunity Grant Program. Technical report to Senate and Assembly education Committees by Joint Committee on Higher Education and Legislative Analyst. Write State Scholarship and Loan Commission, 714 P St., Sacramento, 95814. March 1970. History, data about first winners, summary statement and recommendations for future.

Reading Achievement and the Acquisition and Distribution of State Supplied Textbooks in California Schools. Senate Committee on Education, 140 pages. Transcript of hearing held Jan. 14, 1970 on reading achievement and state textbook program.

Fiscal Review and Analysis of Selected Categorical Aid Education Programs in California. Legislative Analyst. April 1970, 64 pages. Review and analysis of seven compensatory and supplementary education programs.

ENVIRONMENT

Handbook of Federal and State Programs of Financial Assistance for Water Development. Revised (first published in 1966). Assembly Committee on Water. April 1970, 69 pages. Summarizes important federal and state programs of financial assistance for water development.

Joint Committee on Open Space Lands, Final Report. Citizens Technical Advisory Committee on Open Space Lands. January 1970, 117 pages. Local, regional and state responsibilities with recommendations. Copy on file in Committee office, 11th and L Building, Sacramento, 95814.

Report to the Legislature on Proposed Noise Standards for California Airports. Department of Aeronautics, Sacramento Executive Airport, Sacramento, 95814. April 1970. Summarizes proposed noise standards governing the operation of aircraft.

HEALTH

A Report to the 1970 Legislature on Medical Tests for Newborn Infants. Department of Public Health, 2151 Berkeley Way, Berkeley 94704. Sixth progress report on PKU medical tests including background, results of program, statistics and laboratory performance.

Report of Department of Mental Hygiene Relating to Short Doyle Act. Dept. of Mental Hygiene, 744 P St., Sacramento, 95814. March 1970, 2 pages. Analysis of fiscal implications of adopting new formula for local mental health programs.

Youthful Drug Abusers — Report to the California Legislature of a Youth Authority Treatment Program. Dept. of Youth Authority, 714 P St., Sacramento, 95814. March 1970, 90 pages. A final evaluation of "Project 99", the narcotics control program for Youth Authority parolees.

Alcoholism Programs: A Need for Reform. Assembly Office of Research. March 1970, 19 pages + appendices. Effectiveness of state alcoholism program with recommendations for design of a statewide comprehensive delivery system and legislation involved.

TAXATION

Moscone Tax Reform Program: Explanation and Background Information, by Senator George Moscone. March 1970, 48 pages. Explanations, background information and comparisons with Governor's program.

Agenda for Local Tax Reform by George F. Break, Institute of Governmental Studies, Univ. of California, Berkeley. 1970, 132 pages.

Property Tax Exemptions on Homes for the Aged. Legislative Analyst. March 1970, 28 pages. Evaluates equity of exemptions in relation to housing needs of elderly, revenue needs of local government, and reviews role of state.

WELFARE

Health Status of AFDC-U Fathers in Santa Clara County. Santa Clara County Dept. of Social Services, San Jose, California. December 1969, 8 pages.

Time for Change. Report prepared by the Calif. Counties Welfare Modernization Task Force for County Supervisors Assoc. and County Welfare Directors Assoc. of California. April 1970, 147 pages. Proposal for a split welfare program under headings of work security and income security. Calls for long-term plan for employable persons and another to help those unable to work. Write County Supervisors Assn. of Calif., Elks Bldg., Sacramento, 95814. $2.10 in Sacramento. $2.30 elsewhere.

RETIREMENT

A Final Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Public Employment and Retirement. January 1970, 40 pages. Report reviews unit determination, disability retirement, cost-of-living retirement adjustments, termination of social security coverage, and local safety member retirement benefits.

A Review of State Retirement Programs. Legislative Analyst. March 1970, 8 pages. Reports on standards Legislature could apply to retirement legislation and recommends the formation of a statutory Commission on Public Retirement Law.

MISCELLANEOUS

California Traffic Safety Program: Report to the Legislature. Business and Transportation Agency, 1120 N St., Sacramento, 95814. Jan. 1970, 42 pages.

Annual Report to the State Legislature on Surplus Proprietary Lands. 1970. Dept. of General Services, 915 Capitol Mall, Sacramento, 95814. Report on surplus state lands returned to private ownership and local tax rolls.

Employment of Apprentices on Public Works. Preliminary staff report by assembly Committee on Labor Relations. April 1970. Explores possible conflict between Section 1777.5 of the Labor Code and the federal Taft-Hartley Act.

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PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

APPOINTED

H.P. "Pat" Sullivan, 48, as Secretary of State to serve out the term of Frank M. Jordan who died March 30. Sullivan served as Assistant Secretary of State from March 1967 and as Acting Secretary of State during the time since Jordan became ill in 1969 until his appointment by the Governor.

Loren V. Smith, 43, as General Manager of the California State Employees' Association, effective May 1, replacing Thomas T. Jordan. From 1961 through 1966, Smith served as an advisor to the posts of chief counsel and chief legislative advocate in the association. For the past three years, he has represented the state's major railroads before the Legislature and Congress.

Dwayne Keyes, 37, as U.S. Attorney for the eastern district of California by President Nixon. Keyes, formerly Chief Deputy District Attorney for Fresno County, was sworn in April 3.

Robert H. Lawson, 48, as executive officer of the California Council on Criminal Justice. His appointment, effective May 1, was made by Attorney General Thomas C. Lynch. Lawson previously served as Deputy Director of the Department of Corrections.

Brian Van Camp, 29, as assistant secretary of the Business and Transportation Agency, by Governor Reagan. He has served as the Sacramento Redevelopment Agency attorney since 1967.

Richard W. Lemos 31, as executive secretary to the Health Review and Program Council which advises the Department of Health Care Services on administering the Medi-Cal Program. He is former legislative advocate for the California Medical Association.

Frank E. Oliver, 53, as Chief Deputy Director of the Department of General Services, by Governor Reagan. He has held the position of Procurement Officer for General Services since 1967.

Fred J. Russell, , of Beverly Hills, former White House aide, as Undersecretary of the Interior, by President Nixon. Russell was a major California fund raiser for the President in 1968.

Marc W. Sandstrom, 35, former assistant secretary of the Business and Transportation Agency, to a four-year term on the California Law Revision Commission by Governor Reagan, subject to Senate confirmation.

Dean Miller, 38, as Consultant to the Senate Finance Committee by the Committee Chairman, Senator Donald L. Grunsky. Miller previously served as consultant with the Assembly Committee on Education and before that as analyst in the Department of Finance.

Dr. John H. Lawrence, 66, Director of the Donner Laboratory at U.C. Berkeley, as member of the University of California Board of Regents, by Governor Reagan. He will fill the unexpired term which ends March, 1972, of Philip L. Boyd, who resigned.

DIED

Martin Pollard, 73, of Van Nuys, President of the Los Angeles Airport Commission and a leading campaigner for Edmund G. Brown, Stanley Mosk and Mayor Sam Yorty.

CALIFORNIA CALENDAR

May 8-9	**California Law Revision Commission.** State Bar Bldg., 1230 Third St., Los Angeles, 5/8, 7:00-10:00 p.m., 5/9, 9:00 a.m.
May 11	**Assembly Education Subcommittee on School Finance.** Special order to consider bills on financial support for education, Capitol Bldg., Sacramento, Rm. 2117. 4:00 p.m.
	State Transportation Board. State Capitol Bldg., Governor's Council Room, Sacramento. 10:00 a.m.
May 12	**Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control.** Agriculture Bldg., 1220 N St., Rm. 127, Sacramento. 10:00 a.m. Consideration of proposed rule on topless dancers.
May 14-15	**State Board of Education.** Resources Bldg. Auditorium, 1416 Ninth St., Sacramento. 9:00 a.m.
	University of California, Board of Regents. University Extension Center, San Francisco.
	Constitutional Revision Commission. Edgewater Hyatt, Oakland. 10:00 a.m.
May 20-21	**State Board of Equalization.** 1020 N St., Rm. 102, Sacramento. 10:00 a.m.
	State Personnel Board, 515 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco. 9:00 a.m.
May 21	**San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission.** Burlingame Hyatt House, 1333 Bayshore Highway, Burlingame. 2:00 p.m.
	State Water Resources Control Board. San Francisco. 10:00 a.m.
May 21-22	**State Social Welfare Board.** Sacramento. 5/21, 7:30 p.m. 5/22, 9:00 a.m.
May 22	**California Veterans' Board.** Oasis Hotel, 155 So. Belardo Rd., Palm Springs. 1:30 p.m.
May 26-27	**California State Colleges Board of Trustees.** Office of the Chancellor, Third Floor Auditorium, 5670 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles. 9:00 a.m.
June 1-2	**Coordinating Council for Higher Education.** Mansion Inn, Sacramento. 9:30 a.m.
June 2	**Statewide primary election.**
June 4	**State Water Resources Control Board.** Resources Bldg., 1416 Ninth St., Rm. 1131, Sacramento, 10:00 a.m.
	San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission. State Bldg., 455 Golden Gate Ave., Rm. 1194, San Francisco. 2:00 p.m.
June 4-5	**Constitutional Revision Commission.** Sir Francis Drake Hotel, San Francisco. 10:00 a.m.
June 5	**California Water Commission.** Resources Bldg. Auditorium, 1416 Ninth St., Sacramento. 9:00 a.m.

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Washington Crime & Self-government

Lou Cannon, Washington correspondent for Ridder Publications and author of Ronnie and Jesse: A Political Odyssey, *recently wrote the following letter to Jud Clark, Associate Editor of* CALIFORNIA JOURNAL:

APRIL 25, 1970

Dear Jud,

John F. Kennedy once described Washington as a city of southern efficiency and northern charm. The remark, elevated to the status of a cliche among Californians here, has much to recommend it. Washingtonians, in fact, take a kind of misplaced pride in their bad service akin to the attitude expressed by some Los Angelenos toward air pollution. In each case, the residents are assured by one another and by their visitors that their own particular regional handicap is uniquely unapproachable by any other area.

Washington, certainly, is like no other place. The lobbying, as zealous and expensive as Sacramento's, is at once more fundamental and more complicated. (Congressional committees, for instance, habitually hold closed sessions for bill mark-up purposes and some of them upon occasion invite a lobbyist to attend and in full view of God and the committee help directly in the writing of the legislation. On the other hand, such a heavily-lobbyied measure as a lumber-industry oriented "forest preservation" bill can be abruptly taken off calendar and killed at the first showing of "popular opposition," in this case whipped up by the Sierra Club.)

I had hoped, in this fourth letter, not to write about political Washington or monumental Washington with its Japanese cherry blossoms but about another Washington altogether, the Washington that exists beyond the limits of the tourist guidebooks and that frightens the members of the House District of Columbia Committee beyond belief. Unquestionably, there is much to be frightened about. The crime increase in Washington is not the figment of George Wallace's imagination or even of Attorney General John Mitchell's. It is real and it exists, and it is damn terrifying to the people who live here and whose color prevents them from moving to the suburbs of Maryland and Virginia. And yet, District resident, for all their fear, are apt to accept the crime rate with the admixture of concern and resignation that an old farmer displays toward unseasonable weather. What I am laboring to say is that the fear contains a fatalism more suited toward a destructive act of nature.

The No. 3 daily newspaper in this place, a tabloid, attempted to exploit the prevalent fear and the fashionable concern for "law and order" in a manner that I suspect would have been most effective in Chicago or Detroit but that, as far as I am aware, in Washington produced no significant response in either sentiment or circulation. One does not easily understand that attitude at first (particularly if one is preoccupied with political and monumental Washington and lives in Virginia) until one realizes that the peculiar view of the Washingtonian which holds that crime and bad service are eternal verities about which one can do nothing intrinsically relates to the fact that Washington, alone among American cities, is ruled instead of governed.

Whether it is ruled well or badly I will leave to the judgment of others, for it seems to me that this is almost beside the point, which is that the people who live here can never influence the destiny of their city at all except by creating a sense of shame among those congressmen who find the anomaly of denying self-government to the city that is the seat of self-government too much to bear. That is not a very effective way to exercise influence, and the typical Washingtonian finds himself even more estranged from government than his fellow Americans in other cities and regions. His only defense, the historic defense of people anywhere who have nothing to say about the form or substance of their government, is to accept it and learn not to care.

Fortunately, the instincts for self-rule are difficult to extinguish, as the League of Women Voters, bless them, is now attempting to prove. I signed one of the League's self-rule-for-Washington petitions the other day, putting aside my newsman's scruples of not signing anything. It came to mind as I did so how easy it is to be unconcerned about self-government as long as one possesses it. Seen from California, the lack of self-government in Washington appeared merely a freakish aberration of America, something on the order of Nebraska's unicameral legislature. Seen up close, it appears a disaster of first magnitude for the United States.

Engraved on the Backside of the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of History and Technology are the words of its founder, James Smithson, who left all that he owned to the founding of the institution that bears his name. "Every man is a valuable member of society who by his observations and experiments procures knowledge for men," wrote Smithson in his bequeathal document. "It is in his knowledge that man has found his greatness and his happiness, the high superiority which he holds over the other animals who inhabit the earth with him, and consequently, no ignorance is probably without loss to him, no error without evil. The particle and the planet are subject to the same laws and what is learned of one will be known to the other."

They are the best words possible with which to start a museum or to continue a country. One would hope, sooner or later, that the Congress up on the hill would apply its own concern for self-government to the municipal particle which contains it and which is also home for the other treasured monuments of the republic.

Sincerely,

Lou Cannon

Lou Cannon

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VOTING RECORDS

KEY LEGISLATIVE VOTES

SENATE

11—SB 185 (Nejedly) authorizes the use of electronic wiretapping devices by law enforcement officers in felony criminal cases under an order requested by the Attorney General or a district attorney and granted by a superior court judge. The bill passed 21-15.

12—AB 498 (Z'berg) specifies that no public agency shall unreasonably withhold recognition of an employee organization. The bill passed 22-2. (See Assembly vote 16, March 1970)

13—SB 524 (Marks and Moscone) allows individuals 18 to 21 years of age to gather signatures for an initiative petition to lower the voting age to 18. The bill passed 21-13. (See Senate vote 8, March 1970).

14—AB 72 (Ketchum and Powers) mandates that the minimum penalty for highway littering is a $25 fine, no part of which may be suspended by a judge. The bill passed 21-4.

15—SB 85 (Mills) would repeal the automatic 55-45 percent South-North gas tax allocation for highway construction and allow the California Highway Commission to decide on route priorities. The commission has 4 Southern Californians and 3 members from the North. The bill was defeated on April 13 and then passed 21-13 on April 14.

16—SB 38 (Walsh and Carrell) would allocate an additional 5 percent of highway user tax revenue to Southern California for a total of 60 percent. The Northern counties would be reduced to 40 percent. The bill failed to pass 18 to 20.

17—SB 228 (Dymally) in its amended form would enfranchise citizens literate only in Spanish for the June 2 primary election following the decision of the State Supreme Court (See *California Journal*, March 1970, page 84). The bill, an urgency measure which needed the support of two-thirds of the Senate or 27 votes, failed to pass 26-9.

ASSEMBLY

22-AB 473 (Biddle) would permit the discharge of a narcotic addict from an outpatient program after a two-year, rather than three-year, abstention from narcotics while a patient. The bill passed 46-13.

23—AB 509 (Murphy) authorizes the Youth Authority to modify any order, including discharge from an institution, as often as it determines the order to be beneficial to the person committed. The bill passed 56-9.

24—AB 715 (Burke) would prohibit any mention of any relationship to another candidate on the ballot from appearing in a statement of qualifications. The bill failed to pass 39-29.

25—AB 866 (Deddeh) would give career civil servants a three point bonus on open, non-promotional civil service exams which they pass, and eliminate certain veteran's preferences in the same examinations. The bill passed 44-1.

26—AB 289 (H. Johnson & Warren) increases from 15 to 20 years from discharge the period in which a veteran can apply for a "Cal-Vet" home or farm loan. The bill passed 51-3.

27—AB 333 (Britschgi) provides for an increase in the maximum number of registered voters in consolidated precincts in statewide elections where voting machines are used or ballots are counted centrally from 600 to 1,000. The bill fell short of a majority 35-30.

28—AB 374 (Mulford) allows private patrol officers and uniformed private investigators acting within their jobs to carry loaded guns in public. The bill passed 54-13.

29—AB 193 (Thomas) exempts from property taxation a harbor facility owned by a public agency and operated on non-exclusive basis. The bill passed 47-12.

30—AB 22 (Warren) would extend the Fair Employment Practices Act to cover discrimination on the basis of sex by employers with 5 or more employees. The bill passed 57-6.

31—AB 536 (Waxman) deficiency judgments, see page 104. The bill passed 44-13.

32—AB 241 (Waxman) would eliminate the mandatory fine for persons under 21 who purchase liquor by falsifying identification. The bill was defeated 31-20.

33—AB 493 (Dunlap, Sieroty, Z'berg) would require coastal counties to pro-

SENATE

Democratic — 19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
ALQUIST (13)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
BEILENSON (26)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
BURNS (16)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CARRELL (22)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
COLLIER (1)	N	Y	N	*	*	Y	Y
DANIELSON (27)	*	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y
DILLS (32)	Y	*	*	Y	Y	N	Y
DYMALLY (29)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
KENNICK (33)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y
MILLS (40)	*	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y
MOSCONE (10)	N	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y
PETRIS (11)	N	*	*	*	*	*	*
RODDA (5)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SHORT (6)	N	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y
SONG (28)	N	*	Y	N	Y	N	Y
STIERN (18)	Y	*	Y	*	N	Y	Y
TEALE (3)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WALSH (30)	N	Y	N	Y	*	N	Y
WEDWORTH (31)	N	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Republican — 21	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
BRADLEY (14)	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
BURGENER (38)	Y	*	N	*	Y	N	N
COLOGNE (36)	*	*	*	*	Y	N	N
COOMBS (20)	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N	N
CUSANOVICH (23)	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N	N
DEUKMEJIAN (37)	*	*	Y	*	Y	Y	*
DOLWIG (12)	N	Y	N	Y	*	*	Y
GRUNSKY (17)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
HARMER (21)	Y	*	*	*	*	N	*
LAGOMARSINO (24)	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N	N
MARKS (9)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MARLER (2)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	*
McCARTHY (4)	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y
NEJEDLY (7)	Y	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
RICHARDSON (19)	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N	N
SCHMITZ (34)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	*
SCHRADE (39)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
SHERMAN (8)	Y	*	*	*	N	Y	Y
STEVENS (25)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
WAY (15)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
WHETMORE (35)	Y	*	N	*	Y	N	N

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vide public access to the coast at intervals when approving subdivisions of land fronting the ocean. The bill passed 49-9.

34—AB 884 (Roberti) would end the right of a public agency to acquire land for park purposes and then develop it for an airport site. The bill passed 45-16.

35—AB 497 (Hayes) establishes an Office of State Public Defender to act on behalf of the poor in high court appeals or when the judgment of death has been rendered. The bill passed 44-20.

36—AB 272 (Unruh, Cory, L. Greene) would allow local schools to contract with private firms to provide experimental programs in reading and math with the approval of the State Director of Compensatory Education. The bill passed 45-15.

37—AB 732 (Burton and Brown) permits minors under 16 to engage in a "wandering business" if he is engaging in it as part of youth group, charity or service organization that relies on door-to-door sales efforts. The bill passed 45-14.

38—SB 129 (Song and Sherman) changes jury instruction in *res ipsa loquitor* cases (where defendant is assumed guilty in a damage suit unless he can prove otherwise). The bill passed 41-22.

39—AB 954 (Moorhead) allows a sheriff or police chief to have a prisoner removed from jail and taken to an approved medical facility, if the prisoner so elects, and requires the prisoner to post a bond for reimbursement of the public agency for the cost of treatment. The bill passed 47-6.

40—AB 1105 (Brown) provides that proof in a juvenile court proceeding to find a minor guilty of crime must be beyond reasonable doubt rather than a preponderance of the evidence. The bill passed 45-4.

41—AB 2521 (L. Greene and B. Greene) would allow secondary school teachers to teach in elementary schools, and give the Los Angeles Schools more flexibility in meeting their financial crisis. The bill passed 54-17.

42—AB 387 (Burton and Brown) requires the Bay Area Pollution Control District to establish odor emission standards for commercial operators and grant no variances or exceptions to them. The bill passed 43-16.

ASSEMBLY

Democratic — 39	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
BEE (13)	*	Y	N	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	*	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	*
BRATHWAITE (63)	Y	Y	N	*	Y	N	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
BROWN (18)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*
BURTON (20)	*	Y	N	*	*	N	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	Y
CORY (69)	N	*	*	*	Y	N	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	*	*	*	Y
CROWN (14)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	N	Y	Y	Y
CULLEN (44)	Y	Y	*	Y	N	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*
DAVIS (1)	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
DEDDEH (77)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DUNLAP (5)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	N	Y	*	Y
FENTON (51)	Y	Y	N	*	*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	Y
FONG (15)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FORAN (23)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GARCIA (40)	Y	Y	N	*	*	N	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y
GONSALVES (66)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*
GREENE, B. (53)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	*	N	*	*	Y	*
GREENE, L. (3)	Y	Y	N	*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	*	Y	Y
JOHNSON, H. (58)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
KARABIAN (45)	*	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y	*
KNOX (11)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	*	Y	Y
MacDONALD (37)	Y	Y	N	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
McCARTHY (19)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	*	Y	Y
MILLER (17)	Y	Y	N	*	*	N	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	*
MORETTI (42)	Y	Y	N	*	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	*	*	Y	Y
PORTER (38)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
POWERS (8)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
QUIMBY (72)	Y	Y	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y
RALPH (55)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	*	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	*	Y	Y	Y
ROBERTI (48)	Y	Y	N	*	*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y
RYAN (27)	Y	Y	N	*	Y	*	Y	N	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N	Y
SIEROTY (59)	Y	Y	*	*	*	N	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
THOMAS (68)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*
TOWNSEND (67)	*	*	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*
UNRUH (65)	*	*	N	Y	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Y	*	*	*	*	*	*
VASCONCELLOS (24)	Y	Y	N	*	Y	N	*	*	Y	•	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y
WARREN (56)	Y	Y	*	*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	*	Y	Y	Y
WAXMAN (61)	Y	Y	N	*	*	N	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Z'BERG (9)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N	*	*	N	N	Y	Y	Y
ZENOVICH (32)	*	*	N	*	*	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y

Republican — 41	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
ARKLIN (41)	*	*	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	N	Y	N	*	Y	Y	*	Y	*
BADHAM (71)	N	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	*	N	N	N	N	N	*	Y	N	N	N
BAGLEY (7)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
BARNES (78)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	N	*	*	N	N	*	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
BELOTTI (2)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N	Y
BERRYHILL (30)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	*	N	*	N	N	Y	Y	*	N	N
BEVERLY (46)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
BIDDLE (74)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
BRIGGS (35)	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	*	Y	*	N	*	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
BRITSCHGI (26)	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	*	*	Y	N	N	Y
BURKE (70)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	*	
CAMPBELL (50)	*	*	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	N	*	
CHAPPIE (6)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	N	*	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N
COLLIER (54)	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*	*	*	N	*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
CONRAD (57)	*	*	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	*
CRANDALL (25)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
DENT (10)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
DUFFY (21)	*	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	*	N	Y	Y	*	N	*
HAYES (39)	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y
HOM (79)	N	*	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
JOHNSON, R. (4)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y
KETCHUM (29)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
LANTERMAN (47)	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	*	Y	*	*	N	N	*	N	N	*	Y	*	Y	Y	*
LEWIS (73)	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	*	*	N	N	*	N	*	*	*	Y	Y
MacGILLIVRAY (36)	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
McGEE (64)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
MILIAS (22)	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	*
MOBLEY (33)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
MONAGAN (12)	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
MOORHEAD (43)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	N	
MULFORD (16)	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	N	*
MURPHY (31)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
PRIOLO (60)	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y
RUSSELL (62)	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	*	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	N
SCHABARUM (49)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
STACEY (28)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
STULL (80)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	*	*	Y	N	Y	Y	*	N	N
VEYSEY (75)	*	*	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	*
WAKEFIELD (52)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	N	N	N	N	*	N	Y	*	Y	Y	N	N
WILSON (76)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	*	*	Y	Y	*	Y	N
WOOD (34)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

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They are not such bad fellows, these practical politicians. . . . One of the surest hopes we have is the politician himself. Ask him for good politics, punish him when he gives bad, and reward him when he gives good; make politics pay.

— Lincoln Steffens

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